

INSIDE:



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NOVEMBER 16, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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To the brink of recession
Some brokers saw a chance to make money in the unsettled stock markets while economists warned that Canada will edge close to a recession this winter. —Page 34



COVER

What women want now

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the 1965 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, from which many date the start of the women's movement, the mood among women ranges from rage to complacency. Now, the idealistic springing of the 1960s has become the ingrained struggle of the 1990s. —Page 42

PHOTO BY STEPHEN HOGG/ASSOCIATED PRESS/CONTRIBUTOR



Mourning a patriot son
Queen and farwell to René Lévesque, who died of a heart attack at 66. Amid the pomp of a state funeral, it was the grief of ordinary people that stood out. —Page 19



Gifts of a Prairie populist
The work of Saskatchewan sculptor Joe Patard, now mounting a major retrospective, piques the art critics' contentiousness—including highbrow critic Clement Greenberg. —Page 63



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A choice for a beauty queen
Melissa Giffen, the new Miss Canada, says that her ambition is to join the Ontario cabinet, but that she has not yet decided which political party to support. —Page 64

LETTERS

Slamming sanctions

There is much truth in what British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher says regarding sanctions against South Africa: "Britain's assault on the Commonwealth," Canada, Oct. 20. The world has finally gained Pretoria's attention, now we need to support the frontline states and keep among the current states and keep among the current and stick gunning South Africa time to respond without total loss of Agency. Human beings love to abuse the weaker, and self-righteousness is a common failing when the east is in trouble.

—B. McLELLAN
Toronto

Thatcher did not assault the Commonwealth but attacked the hypocrisy and double standard of most of the members, who took special enjoyment in cheering up South Africa, conveniently forgetting their own sins. Mrs. Thatcher's obsession with sanctions-exaggerating clearly reinforces her desire to take over the leadership of an isolated international organization to stifle its apolitical ambitions, fully supported by the Marxist frontline states. —FRAN KELLER
Regina

Now that the fat cats in their sleek limousines have gone back to their re-possessed countries, what has the Vancouver Commonwealth conference produced? Has anyone with the exception of the British prime minister come up with any new or usable suggestion? Has no one realized that instead of unproductive sacrifice, a massive reinvestment in South Africa will produce a higher-powered middle-class black



Thatcher: An attack on hypocrisy

society through which the final stages of apartheid will be effectively dismantled?

—OLIVER KIERNAN
Monrovia, Spain

The banks bite back

Diane Francis's Nov. 2 column on Canada's proposed legislation about money laundering ("Cleaning up on 'off-shore' gains") has glaring and completely false statements and suggestions about the banking industry. She states that proposals to require reporting by financial institutions of transactions of a certain size were made, but that the "powerful" banking lobby "beat them off." No such proposals reached our attention, so it follows that she did not "lobby" for them. She quotes Walter W. Chell, president of the Canadian Bankers Association, to provide evidence of such lobbying by our industry. Her research may convince the fact that Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn labelled similar earlier claims of this sort "completely false" when he introduced the legislation in May. Francis commented that when the legislation reached the committee stage, there would probably be opposition from a number of groups, including some banks. It is beyond us how this conclusion could be drawn when we visited our expert for the legislation publicly at the time it was introduced. Canada's banks have no way to become the unwitting instruments through which drug dealers and others convert their illicit funds, and have pledged their neutrality and vigilance and co-operation with the authorities. To suggest otherwise is completely false.

—ROBERT M. MACKENZIE
President,
The Canadian Bankers' Association
Toronto

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PASSAGES

DEATH: René Lévesque, 68, former Parti Québécois premier of Quebec, of a heart attack, in his Montreal home (page 18).

CHARGE: One-legged marathon runner Steve Paape, 22, with repaired driving, near Vernon, B.C., by the RCMP. Paape, who has had a leg to cancer when he was 12, raised more than \$10 million for cancer research during a run across Canada in 1986 and 1987. Paape is training to become a helicopter pilot.

ORDAINED: The Rev. Richard McKnight, 26, as the first-ever married Roman Catholic priest in Canada, by Terence Archibald Gerald Ernest Carellan Carter, in Newmarket, Ont. The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops agreed last fall that married former Anglican ministers, which McKnight is, could be exempt from the vow of celibacy. McKnight and his wife, Evelyn, have two daughters.

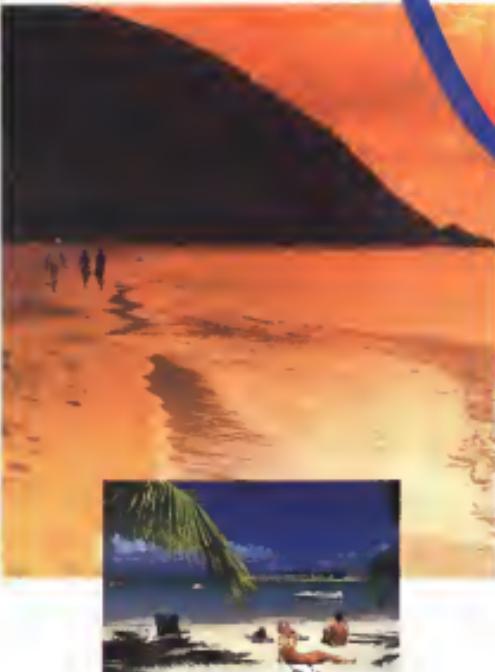
DEATH: Old Testament scholar and author Rev. Robert Scott, 88, first dean of McGill University's faculty of divinity and later professor of religion at Princeton University in New Jersey, at his home in Toronto. While the United Church minister was an archaeological dig in Jordan in 1952, he played a part in the recovery from private dealers of fragments of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, some of the earliest known biblical texts.

ELECTION: As Japan's prime minister, Naoto Kaneko, 61, president of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, by members of both houses of parliament. Kaneko, who replaced Yasuhiro Nakasone, pledged to continue his predecessor's policies, especially to strengthen ties with the United States by reducing trade friction.

PREGNANT: Controversial pro-abortion mother Mary Beth Whitehead, 30, who last March gave birth to Baby M, now known as McNamee, 18 months, whom Whitehead had borne under a \$12,500 contract with the girl's biological father, William Stern, and his wife, Elizabeth Whitehead, confirmed in Newark, N.J., that she intends to marry the father, a New York City accountant, after she is divorced from her first husband, Richard, by whom she has two children.

APPOINTED: As director general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Spain's bookseller Federico Mayor Zaragoza, 52, to replace Amadou Mbow. Mbow of Senegal, 52, was linked with controversy and saw the departure from the agency of the United States and Britain on grounds of its anti-Western bias.

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A Sandinista holiday

Backing naked under several palm trees used by Nicaraguan soldiers for target practice. Game-shooting in the massive forests where rebels regularly stage their own outages with AK-47 automatic assault rifles. These locations would not be everybody's idea of the perfect vacation lo-

"This country is very beautiful. We have beaches, friendly people, lobster dinners for \$3. And it is only four hours from Toronto to Managua."

Levitin seems to be unbothered by Nicaragua's six-year-old war with the rebels known as contras. But many travel agents are deeply concerned about dispatching clients to a country that the U.S. state department has declared a danger zone. But as Levitin points out, Ronald Reagan's sponsorship of the contras has unexpectedly helped Nicaraguan tourism. Before the 1979 revolution, the country attracted only 25,000 visitors a year, mostly business men. Now, having replaced the old tourist brochure slogan, "You'll love it," for the more ambiguous promise, "a visit that is sure to be unforgettable," the Sandinista government draws 100,000 tourists annually. Said Levitin: "Reagan's speeches made people curious about what was going on."

Still, Levitin's situation is now on the fast growth in the tourism industry, a popularity that agents more realistic than themselves of the Central American peace accord in Guatemala last August. Under that agreement, rebel groups will lose support from other countries, and selected democratic reforms, already under way, are to continue. "The war will have to end sometime," said Levitin. "If the United States does not destroy Nicaragua, we will have to be ready to live another way."

Levitin has already begun planning for peace. In his wood-paneled office in Managua there is a mock-up of a 300-room hotel-convention centre now being built at Masnadalur, a 40-acre estate overlooking the Pacific Ocean 60 km southeast of Managua. There, former dictator Anastasio Somoza, ousted in 1979 after ten years in power, was killed with his mistress in a surprise private beach house. Decimated during the revolution, the run-down green-stucco mansion was at first turned into army barracks. But two years ago Levitin began a government project to transform it into a luxury resort designed to attract sun-seekers with tennis courts, movie theatre, discotheque, nude beach and casino.

The prospect of government-subsidized nudism and gambling concerned some Nicaraguans. A spokesman for the Social Christian party denounced the plan in the summer of 1986 as "anti-revolutionary" and as "elitist centre of vice and dissipation." The upper-middle-class Levitin responded indignantly: "But since then he has pointed out that the project will provide about 30,000 jobs and badly needed foreign currency." He added: "Why should people spend their dollars in Mexico? Why not right here in Nicaragua?"

But Morelia—scheduled for a 1988

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opening—is not his only planned attraction. Under Lewitus, the tourism department is building another 140-room hotel high in the country's rugged mountains, 300 km north of Managua. There, he plans activities such as horseback riding and hunting—despite the fact that the country regularly sends forces into the region. He also plans to add 250 rooms and a convention centre to Managua's International Hotel, where the decor has remained virtually unchanged since millionaire tycoon Howard Hughes stayed in a penthouse suite during the city's 1972 earthquake.

None of Lewitus's projects has received money from the badly drained Sandinista treasury. With an entrepreneurial skill that is rare in modern Nicaragua, he has raised the more than \$32 million he needed from private investors in Italy, Spain, Thailand and Greece. Lewitus has a reputation as an entrepreneur. In the early 1970s in San Francisco, home to a large community of Nicaraguans, he pleaded guilty to guaranteeing for the Sandinistas and was deported from the United States.

Still, Lewitus's major financial success may be the vast government-owned supermarket known as the Diplomatic—a gleaming showcase in Managua for tourist shoppers and those members of the Nicaraguan elite who have U.S. dollars to spend. While the country's citizens wait in constant lines for rationed meat, milk and sugar, the Diplomatic's aisles brim with filet mignon, Campbell's soups, designer fashions and perfumes. Lewitus circumvents a stringent U.S. trade embargo by importing the goods from Panama and Canada—from which 86 per cent of the merchandise arrives, twice monthly, on a Toronto charter. The Diplomatic earns the Sandinistas a total of \$13 million a year in foreign currency.

Lewitus's ingenuity was taxed when, two months before the 7thth convention of World Parliamentarians in Managua last April, the Sandinistas realized they lacked a suitable convention centre. In those weeks, under Lewitus's guidance, the government imported \$9 million worth of wall panels, drapes and other trappings, including compensated translation equipment from Toronto—all ferried to Managua aboard 16 Soviet charter flights. The convention took place as scheduled, in a former church transformed by the foreign goods. After that, few could doubt Lewitus's abilities to convince Canadians—and even Americans—of Nicaragua's possible charms. In fact, Lewitus claims that his countrymen are not anti-American. He adds, "What is the difference between one gringo and another?"

—MARCI MCDONALD in Managua



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partner while Carl did the long jumps and the 200 meters. The most prominent raised up and then blamed me, telling the crowd that Ben Johnson refused to run the 100 meters against Carl Lewis, and Carl—again, with his big mouth—said I was afraid to run against him. I was very upset and said, "Pat me in my heart, but I am not going to run against Carl." **MacLean's** Why did you not want to compete against Lewis after Ben?

Johnson I did not want him to beat me when I was not ready. I would like someone to beat me when I am ready to go, because then I would have no excuses.

MacLean's Before Larimore, Lewis said in a TV interview, "If I were taking drugs, I could do a 9.6 right away—just like him." What did he mean?

Johnson I think I took a lot away from him in Rome, including contracts and endorsements he may have lined up before the race. He thought he was going to win. He clearly was not his best shape ever, because he ran 9.95. So of course the guy would be upset. But when Carl was the best in the world—in 1988 and 1984—I did not say anything about what he was doing, and I do not think he should be saying anything about me now. And besides, I have been in training for 10 years, so it is natural that I improve every year. That is my job. I do not care what people will say if I run faster next year. I do not take drugs.



Johnson: "I just do my own thing."

MacLean's What are the possibilities of a much-talked-of Johnson-Lewis showdown before the 1992 *Summer Olympics*, consisting of three races of 100, 100 and 200 meters?

Johnson Nathan has been invited, but I do not mind running against Carl. The 100 is not my race, and the 60 is not Carl's race, while we are closer even in the 100.

MacLean's How did you react to early reports about you which left the impression that you are not very bright or eloquent?

Johnson I do not really care what others think or say. I just do my own thing.

MacLean's What are your plans for life after the Olympics?

Johnson I will go easy in 1988, work hard during the following three years, then pack it up. I might rank in the top 10 in 1990, my best chance might be 1992. But then I will aim to win the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand in 1990, the *Jeux* world championships in Tokyo in 1991, and the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992.

MacLean's Is it possible that you would compete in the *Jeux* Olympics, which might be held in Toronto?

Johnson That would be very difficult because I would be too old. Right now, I like to run to be the best. I do not want to end my life—I want to retire as a champion.

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FOLLOW-UP

Link to the disappeared

Maria Eugenia Garcia was 18 months old when Argentine security forces kidnapped her and her babysitter in March, 1977, while her trade-unionist parents were taking her brother to a medical appointment. It took eight years of detective work—and a key blood test—before her parents were able to retrace her from the Argentine police chief who claimed her as his own. The girl, now 11 years old, and the couple who were looking after her—they are still missing—were among the estimated 18,000 people who disappeared during the so-called "dirty war" conducted against the country's left during the military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983. But the 1984 discovery has been only the latest blood test developed at Buenos Aires's Durand Hospital that is helping to identify kidnapped children and to return them to relatives. Indeed, as far as 42 children have been identified. Said Oscar Garcia, 35, Maria Eugenia's father: "It was like having a baby all over again."

The search for the estimated 400 children who disappeared has been spearheaded by the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who have for the past 16 years marched in downtown Buenos Aires to demand their return. Since 1980 they have received more than 1,000 tips and have tracked down children by examining hospital and adoption records. Some of the women have even posed as baby-sitters or door-to-door salespeople to investigate houses suspected of having adopted kid-

napped children. But the key to identifying missing children is the blood test. Doctors analyze samples from the grandparents or other surviving family members and conduct the same test on the child. "It is like putting together a puzzle," said Dr. Jorge Riva, a pediatrician who works with the Grandmothers. "We look to see if the genes in the child see the same as those of the family being checked."

Some suspected abductors have fled rather than face the test. In Maria Eugenia's case, the police chief—escaped to another part of the country with his wife and Maria Eugenia before media pressure forced him to give up. At least three suspected abductors have fled to Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, Argentina's government refused to let them return the fugitives and the children.

Last May, Argentina's government established a genetic data bank. It will operate until the year 2000, and it includes genetic information on people looking for missing relatives. So far, 80 families are on file. And in doubtful or contested cases, the courts are now obliged to order the blood test and to consult with the data bank. Meanwhile, those involved with the search say that they will confront Sen. Ezeiza Chacotta, vice-president of the Grandmothers. "It hurts us that time is going by. But our search is motivated by human life—that keeps us going."

—KATHRYN LEISER in Buenos Aires



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CLOSE-UP: CARLOS SALINAS DE GORTARI

Mexico's 'atom ant'

The response was not one that Mexico's ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) Institutional Revolutionary Party—had wanted or planned. When party officials announced on Sunday, Oct. 4, that Planning and Federal Budget Secretary Carlos Salinas de Gortari would succeed outgoing Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, many of the tens of thousands of peasants and workers at a Mexico City workers' rally responded with low bows and groans—an indication of the dissatisfaction with Salinas, the architect of Mexico's market-oriented economic policies and the man widely blamed for the recent fall in living standards. But the next day, on the floor of Mexico's stock exchange, share values soared by nearly eight percent in 90 minutes—an action indicating the optimistic response from the business community.

Indeed, Salinas has won widespread support from the private sector and from the international financial community for ending government spending and privatizing ar-

cheiden hundreds of unprofitable state-run industries. Still, he faces a difficult six-year term. Among the problems: a foreign debt of \$125 billion and runaway inflation. The rat's political stranglehold after ruling Mexico for 57 years—assures him of victory in next July's presidential

The Harvard-educated economist Carlos Salinas de Gortari will become Mexico's youngest president in nearly 50 years

election. But the new president, personally chosen by de la Madrid, is under pressure to stamp out corruption and reform the PRI's undemocratic nomination process, under which the new leader is handpicked by the party elite. He must also deal with opposition from members of the country's powerful unions, which have fought his eco-

omic policies—and his execution. Salinas's rise within the PRI has been one of the most rapid in Mexican political history, earning him the nickname "atom ant." Salinas, who at 39 will become Mexico's youngest president in nearly 50 years, began his university education at Mexico City's National Autonomous University. After a year studying economics under a former professor Miguel de la Madrid, he later studied at Harvard University and taught at Stanford University before entering government service. Experts say that the friendship he formed with de la Madrid as a student was a key factor in his entry into the finance and budget ministries as general director in 1979 and his subsequent appointment as budget secretary in 1983.

Salinas's supporters say that his intelligence and youth are two of his main strengths. And they point out that the power of the presidency is so great that he will be able to overcome resistance to continuing economic reforms. Said supporter Adrián Lajous, a former head of the Mexican Foreign Trade Bank: "He is the most intelligent of the candidates and the one who could best stand the corruption of power."

Over the past five years inflation has plagued Mexico, exceeding 100 percent this year. Some observers blame



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that problem on Salinas's tight-money policies. For one thing, he has cut government food subsidies, and experts say that the subsequent demands for higher wages have fueled inflation. The resulting decline in living standards in the country of 80 million people has alienated the unions—traditionally strong supporters of the PRI. In fact, labor leaders such as Pidel Velázquez, head of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, which represents the country's trade unions, have publicly campaigned against Salinas. In a recent poll in the influential Mexican daily newspaper *El Universal*, the ma-

strangulation on the federal, state and municipal levels of Mexican politics has largely been a result of the widespread use of election fraud. Among the methods staffing ballot boxes, falsifying electoral lists and threatening to withhold government projects from districts where PRI support is low. Indeed, by rigging elections the candidates have consistently defeated contenders from the increasingly popular conservative National Action Party for state government and control of cities in the north. Now, even the method to select Salinas is under fire. Within the PRI, dissent has been gener-



Salinas (center) lower living standards and a difficult economic time ahead

ajority of respondents favored energy minister Alfonso del Muro for future leadership. Indeed, Salinas's nomination is clearly a severe blow to Mexican labor leaders. "The government has extracted a big price from Mexican society," said Lorenzo Mayer, chief political activist at the Colegio de México. "At some point Salinas will have to make arrangements to give the average worker some kind of relief."

For his part, the刚刚当选的总统 (just-elected president) claims that he is anxious to be reconciled with the unions, offering to "talk and listen." But he appears to be committed to continuing the same economic programs that the unions and the poor oppose. "It's not the time for sharp changes," he said in a speech before his inauguration. "The unions will not accept that the advances already achieved be sacrificed." I think the consensus that the country is not made aware every six years and that the history of Mexico does not start again with each administration."

At the same time, Salinas will face demands for democratization of Mexican politics. Experts say that the PRI's

aided mainly by Democratic Current, a group of party dissidents who want future leaders freely elected—not chosen by the president. "The process the Democratic Current has started cannot be stopped," said Mayer. "The PRI—retrospectively, unwillingly—will have to accept that political modernization requires plurality."

There are indications that Salinas has recognized the need for change. Shortly after his nomination, he told an audience of party officials, "In the coming years we will face, above all, a challenge of democracy. We must widen the channels for political participation, to complete the perfection of our institutions. It must prove to be the hardest task. Relegitimizing even a degree of the PRI's power is certain to be even more painful for many members of Mexico's well-kealed leadership than dealing with the country's economic malaise. But experts say that not to do so will almost certainly erode the limited legitimacy that the PRI retains—and in the end, that could cost the party everything."

—CHRIS McKEEAN, in Mexico City

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A clear warning to Washington

By Diane Francis

WHAT has the recent stock market crash have to do with Joe Clark and the proposed free trade deal with the Americans? Everything. In February, 1980, Canadians urged Clark out of the prime minister's job, in large measure because he proposed to substantially reduce the federal budget deficit by blocking pipeline taxes of 18 cents a gallon, or four cents a litre. Instead, Canadians reasonably opted for a retreaded prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, whose economic philosophy consisted of putting everything in the till. We got the government we deserved by the time Trudeau left office, Canada had a sovereign debt of close to \$100 billion—an amount more than two times the size of Mexico's foreign debt. Now we are \$364 billion in hock, or \$10,368 for every man, woman and child in the country.

Clark's deficit showed that Canadians remained staggeringly uninterested in fiscal prudence—even for a lousy 18 cents a gallon. But while Canada's debts slowly but surely erode our standard of living, our fiscal recklessness has little effect on the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the Americans have been just as averse to fiscal responsibility, and their wasteful ways affect everyone else.

That message was underscored by the Oct. 15 crash which sent stock markets crashing and triggered a monetary crisis. Now Washington has been warned that "Economic recovery is not our concern." "This is the result of foolish policies," said Stephen Juraskevich, a pre-eminent moneyman whose company, Fraser & Co., manages some \$3 billion worth of Canadian pensions and savings. "Slogans in sand," he declared. "He only knows what is good for California, and that is low taxes and a high defense budget."

The biggest concern in Washington's economic budget deficit, which have grown to \$306.7 billion in 1986 from \$152.7 billion in 1982. Putting it on the tax bill has resulted in a national debt of \$3 trillion, or roughly \$16,000 per capita. The second problem is somewhat related: it is the first, and that is the much-voiced U.S. trade deficit, which reached \$167 billion in 1985, up from \$84.4 billion in 1982. To put it into perspective, the two total \$432.7 billion, more than Canada's 1986 gross national product of \$469 billion.

The problem is that budget deficits and national debts are covered by stiff

interest-bearing government bonds and treasury bills. Because of Washington's various appetites, it can't make the interest on those bonds appeal to investors, which suddenly puts upward pressure on interest rates and upward pressure on the U.S. dollar due to increased demand as foreigners convert their currency in order to snap up the bonds. This, in turn, contributes to the trade deficit because an artificially high dollar makes that U.S. goods are more expensive in other markets and do not sell—while cheaper imports are snapped up at home.

These conditions have existed for several years and yet stock markets have thrived. But a Sept. 4 increase in interest rates by the Federal Reserve Board was the straw that broke the camel's back. For the first time in 16 years the Fed hiked its bellwether discount rate—which it charges financial institutions—to six per cent from 6.5 per

The party is over, and catastrophe awaits those leaders who ignore the messages contained in the Crash of 1987

cent. That day the Dow Jones tumbled 30 points, and every week afterward warnings sounded as markets collapsed one day but recovered the next, fuelled mainly by speculators.

The interest rate hike plus ever-increasing stock prices widened the gap between what is paid in charges on such large pools of cash as pension funds, could make on short-term interest rates and stock dividend payments. The average dividend paid did not keep pace with higher stock prices and fell to about 2.5 per cent of the value of stocks. Short-term interest rates in Canada are about twice per cent and to 7.5 per cent in the United States. That caused Black Monday's massive sell-off, because managers could no longer justify owning stocks—and dumped them for interest-bearing bonds.

Fortunately, stock markets have improved in the hope that Black Monday's message has finally sunk in with Reagan and his advisers. And that is where the Joe Clark solution comes in. As the British magazine *The Economist* pointed out a few years ago, the U.S. budget deficit could be erased overnight by im-

posing higher gasoline taxes. At current consumption levels for gasoline and diesel fuel, a tax of \$2.48 a gallon would do the trick. Although that represents nearly a tripling of the cost to U.S. consumers—and certain electric deficit for its proponents—Americans would still pay less for gasoline than the Europeans and Japanese pay. Little wonder that the world has run out of patience with Washington's inability to winds up with its deficit.

As for the trade problem, the trouble is that many importers no longer have U.S.-made rivals. Those that do can undercut them, because many countries that enjoy a trade surplus with the United States are cheating by effectively subsidizing their products one way or another and reducing the cost to U.S. consumers. "There is no economic miracle in Korea," said Juraskevich, who closely follows developments in the Far East. "Koreans pay their workers only \$1.60 an hour. Trade surprises are not being passed along to workers in higher wages and a better living standard. Even when wages are higher, such as Germany and Japan, exporters are cheating by taking loans as U.S. sales."

The only answer is protectionism, but ones from which Canada may be spared as part of a free trade deal. A new North American trading block may levy tariffs to protect itself. Juraskevich says that if Taiwan or Korea pays factory workers \$1.60 an hour compared with North American wages of \$30 an hour, and the labor component in a product is 40 per cent, then a tariff of 10 per cent of the difference between wages affects total costs by a percentage different, such as 10 per cent. And he is right. Unfortunately, if it is the only quick fix—and the reasons why Canadians must stop whining about the free trade deal with the United States and get in before the barn door is shut.

Stock market skirmishes underscore the fact that protectionism and higher taxes will likely be the order of the day. Of course, tough-minded economic policies result in a political price tag, as Joe Clark, realized. Canadians and Americans alike are split between those who want to live beyond their means, buy cheap imports and be able to tax any leader who cracks fiscal integrity. But the crash has made it clear that the party is over. Economic catastrophe awaits those leaders who would ignore the messages contained in the Crash of 1987—and those voters who would shoot the messenger.



Lévesque's casket being carried into the Basilica in Quebec City. "He put us on the map and made us proud to be Quebecers."

CANADA/SPECIAL REPORT

MOURNING A PATRIOT SON

In death, as in life, René Lévesque provoked powerful emotions. Lévesque's funeral tributes from colleagues and dignitaries filled special sections of newspapers last week. His old political foes admitted a profound respect for Lévesque's untempered idealism, although a grudging few chose not to forgive the old differences. But in the end, despite the pomp and pageantry of a state funeral, it was ordinary Quebecers—and the poignancy of the seemingly spreading lines that gamed for hours to bid a final farewell before his open casket—who underlined Lévesque's special place in the life of the province he led—and the country as deeply challenged.

In both Montreal and Quebec City, an estimated 100,000 people waited patiently—some in a steady drizzle and in lines that snaked for several blocks—for a chance to pay a brief tribute to a patriot son. And when Lévesque's casket was carried from the century-old grey stone building in Old Montreal that once served as the city's courthouse, he was transported to Quebec City for the state

funeral. 10,000 ambulances broke into applause and sang, spontaneously, Georges Poujol, a song of a affectionate greeting and Quebec's unofficial national anthem. Thousands more waited outside the Notre-Dame Basilica in Quebec City the next day during the celebration of the funeral mass as the strains of Mozart's Requiem drifted out onto Boulard Street. The emotional outpouring was a clear demonstration of the spell that Lévesque cast over Quebecers as a political—and in many ways, a spiritual—leader. Solid Marie Poulin, 30, a woman who came to view Lévesque's body in the matted layer of Montreal's old earthworks. "For me, Lévesque was a Gandhi."

Lévesque's compelling personality, which endeared him as much to his political adversaries as to his supporters, ensured the almost unprecedented intensity of the affection in Quebec, which had no premier from 1976 to 1985, his death at age 68—from a massive heart attack—prompted an assessment of the province's achievements over the past quarter-century. For

many of Quebec's embattled independenceans, the death of the man who founded the Parti Québécois (PQ) was a time for reflection on past victories and defeats—and new hopes for a revival of nationalist spirit. But for most ordinary Quebecers, it was a time to acknowledge Lévesque's less tangible contributions. Said Daniel Fortinier, 38, a corporal with the Canadian Armed Forces who stood up to pay his respects to Montreal. "He put us on the map and made us proud to be Quebecers."

The respect extended as well to English Canada, prompted by Lévesque's pivotal role in many of the most important political events of the past two decades of Canadian history. Both major English television networks broadcast live coverage of the state funeral, the first time that had been done on the death of a provincial premier. On Parliament Hill, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ordered the Canadian flag to fly at half-staff, a remarkable tribute to a man who made than anyone else this century had challenged federalism with his government's 1980 referendum

on independence. Said Stephen Clarkson, a professor of political science at the University of Toronto's English-Canadian regime that Lévesque is the first major figure in that generation of political states to die."

Since stepping down as PQ leader in 1985, Lévesque had remained an active participant in public life as an author and radio commentator. But his health had always been a subject of speculation, largely because he chain-smoked cigarettes—usually Player's Light—throughout his adult life. That concern heightened in 1985 during Lévesque's final months in office, when his public behavior became erratic—symptoms later attributed to lung cancer. The concern was not magnified; an autopsy revealed that Lévesque, who often returned to an emotional fear of doctors and hospitals, had previously suffered from mild heart attacks that had gone undetected.

His friends and associates assumed that Lévesque had looked older in his final weeks. But former PQ minister Gilbert Parent, 49, who died with Lévesque during the PQ's catastrophic defeat of its independence platform in January, 1985, said: "Those final months in government were very rough on him. But in the last few weeks he seemed to have found his serenity once more."

That serenity was evident during Lévesque's last public appearance, on Oct. 30, just two nights before he died. Lévesque made a short, paean appearance at a Montreal literary fund-raising dinner where he exchanged rock punches with former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, his greatest rival over the past quarter-century. "He looked well," Trudeau told reporters later. "He was telling us all the work he was doing with the media. I thought it was too much, but that was his life and he lived it fully to the end."

Forty-eight hours later, as a small dinner party in his apartment on Montreal's St. Louis Island, Lévesque, who had reportedly been feeling poorly all day, suddenly grew ill. His guests tried to persuade him to go to the hospital. But Lévesque refused. At about 8 p.m., with his wife, Carine Clé-Lévesque, at home, Lévesque suffered his fatal attack and quickly slipped into unconsciousness.

Clé-Lévesque began a month-long vigil, following the instructions of a nurse who stayed on the line after she had phoned an ambulance. When they arrived, ambulance technicians also tried for 45 minutes to resuscitate him but failed. Lévesque was pronounced dead on arrival at Montreal General Hospital at 10:35 p.m.

A remarkable life was over. Lévesque's high-octane career left a political imprint not only on Canadian politics but on French-language journalism as well. In the 1970s Lévesque became Quebec's first television star as the host of *Point de Mire*, a current affairs program on Radio-Canada, the country's French network. The show focused on international events, an interest Lévesque's death/being carried into the Basilica in Quebec City. "He put us on the map and made us proud to be Quebecers."

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Lévesque: the end of a remarkable life.

the Liberals' 1980 election victory, Lévesque immediately distinguished himself from most politicians. "While other Liberal candidates spent all their time bashing the previous administration, Lévesque was always talking about the future of Quebec," recalled Gérard Pelletier, one of Lévesque's oldest friends. Pelletier, a supporter during the 1980 campaign who went on to become a Liberal cabinet minister in Ottawa, added, "I could see the wry and the Liberal stances on the stage with him."

Lévesque's hard-hitting political style constantly tested the discipline of party politics. Instead, he relied on his all-ready-high public profile to get his way. He used that leverage as a senator in Lévesque's cabinet to automatically

Quebec's privately owned hydroelectric companies and to form Hydro-Québec, the now-major provincial utility. And former PQ house leader Claude Charbonneau, "In the early 1980s he was a superstar. He spoke directly to the people and they could understand him, even if something as complicated as nationalizing electricity."

But by 1987 Lévesque abandoned his attempt to push the reformist elements of the Liberal party into acceptance for an all-inclusive concept of "sovereignty-association." Instead, he dramatically walked out of the Liberal party, taking with him a band of loyal followers that included Charbonneau, a 31-year-old student journalist at the time. The next year Lévesque rounded the Parti Québécois out of several disparate groups advocating an independent Quebec.

But Lévesque's moderate approach to independence was constantly challenged by more radical members of the party, many of whom advocated harsh restrictions on Quebec's autonomy. Lévesque was able to persuade most PQ members to reject those positions, but sometimes only by threatening to resign as party leader. Said Paquette: "There was nobody who could hold all the divided elements of the party together. He was its conscience."

Still, under Lévesque's leadership the party suffered two traumatic electoral defeats—in 1976 and in 1985. Only when Lévesque convinced the party to promote a referendum on sovereignty-association did the PQ win a majority government—in 1987. That government is now widely regarded as one of the most talented and creative ever elected

SPECIAL REPORT

in Quebec. Over the next three years it passed landmark legislation providing for no-fault automobile insurance, an agricultural zoning act that preserved much of Quebec's arable land for farming and a law prohibiting companies from hiring replacement workers while their employees are on strike. The PQ also reformed the way political parties are financed in Quebec by outlawing corporate donations and allowing only individuals to make political contributions to parties or candidates. Said Jean Croteau, a political scientist at Laval University in Quebec City: "The law virtually eliminated patronage and conflict of interest from provincial elections."

But no law was more widely hailed in French Quebec, or more widely condemned in English Canada, than the PQ's 1977 Charter of the French Language (LOF). Although it was known as Bill 101, the law that established the primacy of French in schools and business. Paradoxically, it demonstrated that Quebec could act to protect its language and culture within Canadian federalism, thereby underscoring support for sovereignty-association. Noted Croteau: "Bill 101 rubbed the PQ of a lot of its arguments. They had nothing left in light Ottawa with."

Then Lévesque suffered two crushing political blows. In May, 1980, Quebecers refused, by a margin of 3 to 2 in the referendum vote, to give the PQ government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada. And in constitutional negotiations the following year, Lévesque was forced out of a secret late-night deal between French and the nine English-speaking premiers to patriate the Constitution. As a result, Quebec refused to sign the 1982 Constitution Act—a gap that this year's Meech Lake accord was designed to remedy.

These losses also weakened Lévesque's hold on his own party. Many of his more hard-line colleagues never accepted sovereignty-association as anything more than a device aimed at the eventual establishment of complete independence. Only by again threatening to resign and forcing an internal party referendum on his leadership was Lévesque able to persuade the PQ to abandon changes that would have made

independence possible upon a PQ election victory.

But the "Mouvement," as it was called, was the last straw. Lévesque was able to pressure the party into accept-

ing late 1984, the party was divided. Old colleagues such as Camille Laurin and Jacques Parizeau left the PQ, ostensibly over Lévesque's softening on sovereignty—but also because it was clear that party power brokers surrounding Pierre Marc Johnson were succeeding in their push to unseat the leader. When Lévesque resigned in June, 1985, only the timing of his departure was a surprise.

In the wake of Lévesque's death, Quebecers last week debated what impact the outpouring of feeling for him would have on the province. Many nationalists used the occasion to call for a renewed commitment to Quebec independence. Said Louis Harel, a PQ member of the legislature: "It is too early to say whether all the emotion is just nostalgia for the man or if it signals a rebirth of sovereignty. But it is certain that the debate on the independence option will start soon."

For now, that debate may be buried in the aid workers from Lévesque's generation. Said Michel Vincent, 26, vice-president of the law students' association at the University of Montreal: "Politics these days does not arouse emotions the way it did in Lévesque's period. I don't think you are going to see even the kind of political commitment that Lévesque inspired in young Quebecers 20 years ago."

Indeed, last week, as Lévesque's casket was drawn through the streets of Old Quebec, the crowd's chant of "merci" was in recognition of past battles. And the gathering of politicians from across Canada at his funeral was an indication that many of the confrontations Lévesque imagined have since been settled. After being greeted warmly in Calgary while presenting his memoirs in 1986, Lévesque told former Liberal cabinet colleague Eric Kierans, "I am no longer a terrorist." But if Lévesque had stopped making people angry, he had not been forgotten. The openly emotional reaction to his death from ordinary Quebecers and English Canadians alike was evidence of his lasting imprint on the country.

Did anyone dare tell Antonio Stradivari he could speed up production, if he stopped fiddling around?

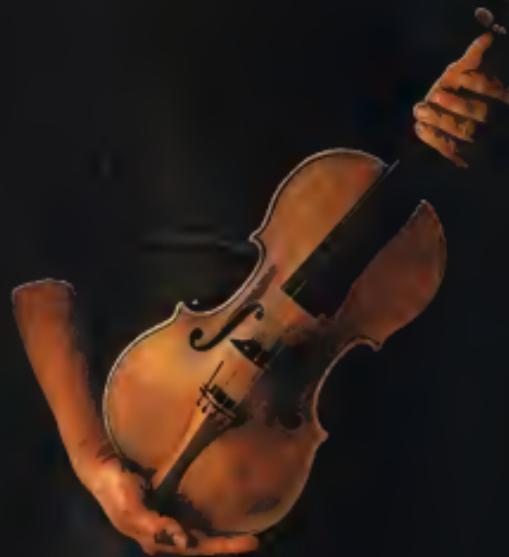


Réal Lévesque and Lévesque on Oct. 30; widow Corinne (below); tributes

ing his will. Backroom maneuvering against his leadership began as early as 1982 and grew as the PQ struggled through its second term in office. And when Lévesque agreed to take sovereignty out of the PQ's election platform



—BRUCE WALLACE in Quebec City with LÉONIE VINCENT and CINDY HUFFMAN in Montreal



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A MAN OF MANY PARADOXES

ESSAY

When his death was announced, many journalists who cover politics were left with a strange sense of loss. We knew him as well. Not the private man, who was always rather secretive, but the public man. For 26 years, covering Quebec politics meant covering René Lévesque—and vice versa. We had grown accustomed to his style, to his ways of thinking.

He was always late. There was always something wrong with him, not to be, or about. When he became premier in 1976, his wife had to drag him to a tailor. His speeches, which moved and energized so many packed halls, were inscribed on small pieces of paper or the back of a cigarette pack. He was a heavy smoker and often ran out of cigarettes during news conferences. When more and more journalists became nonsmokers, he had more and more trouble borrowing cigarettes.

Shrewd: He would speculate his speeches, or his comments, with extreme digressions, and leave many sentences hanging in mid-air. Despite his political ambitions, he was an excruciating job. We knew what he meant to say, from his expressions and his tone of voice, but when his words were printed they could be difficult to understand, with many unfinished phrases. He was shrewd. Sometimes, his reticent style of talking served him well in maintaining ambiguity about his ideas.

René Lévesque was a man of many paradoxes. A very orator in public, he was shy and reserved in private, alternately charming and brutal, generous and resentful. On good days, he would flash his famous grin, a strange mixture of irony and compassion. On bad days, he would snide anger and look like a newspaperman like all politicians, he was tested and needed power, but he was embarrassed by unbridled adulation and loud applause. He could, as a political leader, arouse strong emotions, but he hated any kind of emotional outburst. That is why he shuffled his cabinet so rarely, be-

ing forced to deal with frustrated and exasperated ministers.

Lévesque was a strong man, with boundless energy. On the campaign trail, he exhausted much younger aides. He did not drink much alcohol, but consumed vast amounts of coffee. He was something of a night owl and

hated having to deal with some of the novels and essays he had missed during the year.

Smart: He could be very thoughtful, especially with ordinary people. He made sure that his poll workers had something to eat on election night. He worried about security guards being cold in an unheated corridor of the national assembly. He stopped and listened to the humble and the unknown. But Lévesque was never a populatist. He was a left-leaning liberal, a nationalistic and a committed democrat. Among his achievements, there was none that he himself valued more than the 1987 law that put strict limits on the financing of political parties in Quebec. When he left politics, he was not, and certainly did not want to be, appointed to any corporate board of directors. Rather, he went back to work as an author and journalist.

His brand of nationalism was not xenophobic. I have always thought that he had, and still does, a significant number of non-francophones would vote "yes" to sovereignty-association in the 1990 referendum. I vividly remember him speaking in English for three hours in a Montreal synagogue on a Friday night, steadily fighting his need to speak, desperately trying to convince his audience that an independent Quebec would be open and democratic.

Although he was a devout nationalist, he was acutely aware of what extreme nationalism could lead to. He passionately hated, and fiercely fought, all those he suspected of fusing with extreme nationalism. He hated the radical Front de libération du Québec—the FLQ. He even hated his own party's radicals.

In 1988, at the first convention of the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (which became the Parti Québécois six months later), Lévesque had to deal with a large group of delegates who called for the closing of English



René Lévesque three days before his death. (Courtesy of Alan苍蝇)



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schools. He threatened to resign if they got their way—and he won. When his government passed the Charter of the French Language in 1977, he left soon of the job of drafting it to become cultural affairs minister, Camille Laurin. The job had to be done, he used to say, but he did not want to do it. He was suspicious of the remuneration with which many francophones greeted the charter, and he worried anglophones fearing to Quebec from other provinces to keep the right to send their children to English schools, but he finally gave in to Laurin's passionate arguments.

On other issues he modestly confronted his own party. He was angered in 1977 when delegates to a PQ convention voted for unrestricted abortion and for pulling out of NATO—policies that Liberal feared would damage his government's image. And he threatened to resign as party leader in 1983, when delegates to another convention, shocked by the constitutional assent that excluded Quebec, passed a resolution calling for pure independence without any form of association with the rest of Canada.

Strongly Lévesque and the PQ negotiators had a stormy, love-hate relationship. He was the founding father, the beloved leader on whom all hopes and frustrations rested. He was much more impatient and authoritarian with his party than with voters at large, and much more sensitive to the wants of the population than to those of the PQers. In this sense, he was almost as much as a parent than as a party leader.

He was thus a driving force for changes in 1982 when, as minister in Jean Lévesque's Liberal government, he called for nationalization of Quebec's electricity companies, as in the 1970s, when he pushed for sovereignty-association. At other times, he acted as a moderating force, in 1970, during the October Crisis, and in 1986, when he graciously accepted, without the slightest reservation, the verdict of the people in the referendum. He could be bold or cautious, but always attuned to the will of the majority. Through his own ambivalence, through his own hesitations on the national question, he embodied the complex and ambiguous aspirations of most Quebecers, who would like, as a nationalist, were part of "a free Quebec in a united Canada." It has been said that Pierre Trudeau represented what French-Canadians wanted to be, but that Lévesque represented what they were. That is why so many mourned when Lévesque died last week. What suddenly disappeared was a part of themselves.

Such comparisons come of a particularly difficult time for Johnson, whose father, Daniel, served as Quebec's premier from 1966 to 1968. In late October, former PQ minister Gérard Godin Johnson's critics by calling on him to resign. Under Johnson, and Ge-

ralie, "the party is going nowhere, except perhaps to its death."

The adjournment began soon after the 1985 election, when Bourassa's Liberals left the PQ with just 23 members in the 128-seat legislature. Concentrating mainly on language and constitutional issues, Johnson and his caucus were unimpressive as critics of the Bourassa government's economic agenda. That

falling was underscored this month when the PQ's youth wing endorsed the Canada-U.S. free trade accord, which Johnson has attacked.

Johnson further alienated the party's remaining handful of supporters of Quebec independence last June when he persuaded the PQ to adopt a strategy that he called "unusual affirmation." The approach, which calls for Quebec to increase its powers in a gradual, step-by-step fashion, enraged such hard-liners as former agriculture minister Jean Gauvin, who resigned from the party executive to protest. Under Johnson, the party's membership has fallen to 40,000 from a peak of 380,000 in 1980, and it has failed to meet its first hard-riding goals. Said Louis Harel, a PQ member of the legislature: "That is Pierre Marc's challenge to shake the lethargy in the party."

Johnson's critics warn that by blurring the PQ's political identity, he has opened the way for the provincial New Democratic Party to supplant it as the alternative to Bourassa's Liberals. Indeed, a poll by Montreal's Centre de Recherche sur l'Opinion Publique in October showed the PQ just one percentage point ahead of the one (33 to 26 per cent) among decided voters. Both were well behind the Liberals, supported by 34 per cent.

Last week's expression of affection for Lévesque made it apparent that Johnson may well find it increasingly difficult to re-establish his hold on the PQ. And one caucus member who had been a Lévesque apologist, the PQ's already tough situation may "get worse."

Lamont Gagnon is a political columnist for *Le Progrès* of Montreal.

UNDER A SHADOW

He was once widely regarded as the natural successor to René Lévesque. When Pierre Marc Johnson took over from Lévesque as leader of the Parti Québécois in September 1985, he was renowned for his uncanny ability to sidestep tricky political issues. But ever since the PQ's crushing electoral defeat three months later at the hands of Liberal



Johnson at Lévesque's funeral, target of a protest

Robert Bourassa, that instinct has faded. Johnson instead, he has been the target of a growing protest against his leadership. Last week his critics gained new strength from the outpouring of emotion that followed Lévesque's death. The event renewed comparisons between Lévesque's leviathan style and Johnson's aristocratic aloofness. Said Michel Clair, a former PQ cabinet minister who was Johnson's chief of staff in 1986: "The revised admiration for Lévesque will make Johnson's already tough situation more difficult."

Such comparisons come of a particu-

larly difficult time for Johnson, whose father, Daniel, served as Quebec's premier from 1966 to 1968. In late October, former PQ minister Gérard Godin Johnson's critics by calling on him to resign. Under Johnson, and Ge-

ralie, "the party is going nowhere, except perhaps to its death."



Testy tempers in Ottawa

The sight of relief was almost as evident in Ottawa last week as members of Parliament prepared for a 10-day break on the floor of the House of Commons and in committee meeting rooms around Parliament Hill. Since all parties had launched savage personal attacks or opprobrium, Ottawa's 38th Parliament had degenerated into a cycle of name-calling and cursing that left veteran members shaking their heads—and Commons Speaker John Packer struggling to maintain order. Said New Democratic House Leader Nelson Birn, an MP since 1986: "This is the worst I've ever seen. I've never seen so little respect to this kind of gotten-style politics."

Among recent examples of acrimony was a Commons debate on Oct. 28 during which B.C. New Democrat James Gallo called Brian Mulroney a "f***ing son" after the Prime Minister had accused opposition MPs of not supporting Western Canada. And the next day, as a parliamentary committee began hearings into the U.S.-Canada free trade pact, Conservative MP William Keating lobbed Liberal MP Sheila Copps a "God damn ignorant bitch."

Keating offered several reasons for the current belligerence. Most cited the intensity of the debate on free trade and the prospect of a federal election in the next year. But the dark circles under many eyes suggested another cause exhaustion. When the House rose last June 20 for its summer recess after an arduous winter session, MPs were told that they would not return until mid-

MARC CLARK is a Times

—ROB SMITH in Winnipeg

A party's labor pains

It was an unanticipated beginning for Canada's newest political party. As 300 delegates to the founding convention of the Reform Party of Canada (RPC) met in Winnipeg on Oct. 20, interim president Joanne Miller called on the two candidates for the party's leadership to maintain harmony and avoid criticizing each other. But two days later leadership contender Stanley Behn abruptly withdrew, charging that delegates had been selected irregularly and that the new party had already compromised its principles. Behn's unusual outburst damaged many delegates, but few left the convention floor with him. Instead, those who remained selected his opponent, Preston Manning, as leader.

The division badly tarnished the birth of the new party. Manning, the Edmonton business consultant and son of former Alberta premier Ernest Manning, and Behn, a former president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, had laid the groundwork for the RPC last spring. Drawing on growing Western dissatisfaction with the federal Conservatives, they agreed to create a party that would champion the cause of the West while shunning separation. Manning maintained that the RPC was carrying on the traditions of earlier western populist movements—and promised to integrate the party's conservative philosophy with a commitment to the disadvantaged. In his acceptance speech, he described the new party as "a marriage between the Rockies and Mother Nature." But the policies adopted in Winnipeg—including rules for national referendums on federalism, inflation, and capital punishment—dissolved a divided RPC to the right.

The major change the RPC seeks are constitutional: an elected Senate with equal regional representation and a mechanism for voters to recall senators whose performance dismays them. It also strongly backs free trade with the United States. But with just 3,250 members and a federal election expected within a year, the party is clearly not ready to sweep the West. Still, Manning voiced confidence that the RPC will benefit from dissatisfaction with Ottawa. "All we have to do is create a vehicle for our expression," he told Maclean's. "That's the missing element for all Prairie populist movements."

—ROB SMITH in Winnipeg

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A people's last stand

A trap Alberta Indians had at preparing to be a show in the role of organizers of this February's Winter Olympics is Calgary. The Lubicon band is organizing an international boycott of an Olympic arts festival to be held in Calgary during the Games (Maclean's, Nov. 6). The band's objective is to promote its campaign to give title to land in northern Alberta, which it has occupied for generations.



Lubicon elders Edward, Albert and Samson Joe Lubicon in a familiar pattern of shapes

Conditions in the Lubicon community have declined sharply since oil and gas companies moved into the area in the late 1970s. Under their care, game entered their land. Lubicon Indians say their band's future is in doubt. Maclean's Calgary Bureau Chief John Bourne recently visited the community in Little Buffalo Lake, 100 km northeast of Edmonton. His report:

Lubicon's last stand. The band is in danger of succumbing to threats posed by oil, stripmining, oil sands, and oil pipelines. They can't get title to the land it occupies. And the Alberta government, complicit in oil companies' rights in the area, as expanding network of pipelines, trade, pumps, well sites and storage facilities near the land, encroach and endanger the band's traditional way of life. Annual income from trapping is down by 90 per cent to \$400 per family since the oil companies arrived. The result: a familiar pattern of welfare-induced despair, alcoholism and social breakdown.

Dr. Graham Clarkson, an Edmonton-based medical officer who examined the tuberculosis victims, traces their living conditions to those in the slums of Glasgow where he once practiced. On average, Lubicon sleep four to a cramped room. A diet of park feed has left many of them emaciated and underweight. Said Terry Lubicon, 22, an employee of the band

organization who recently developed tuberculosis: "Things are changing here. Now, it seems like it's fight or flight, like we did before."

Granigan, 31, says the band's health conditions are a direct result of its failure to gain control of the land. "People are still trying to have, but the hills get taller all the time," the chief said. "We must have our own land base. Without it, we don't qualify for economic development assistance. Let's face it. Our way of life has gone down the drain. Land would give us education. Something for the kids to stay in school for."

At the centre of the fight is a dispute over the size of the band. A federal treaty signed at the turn of the century by most northern Alberta bands—but not the Lubicons—stipulated that each band should receive 128 acres of reserve land for every member who is a status Indian. Based on its claim to 457 members, the band says that it should receive 90 square miles of land. But the federal government says that only 200 Lubicons are in fact status Indians.

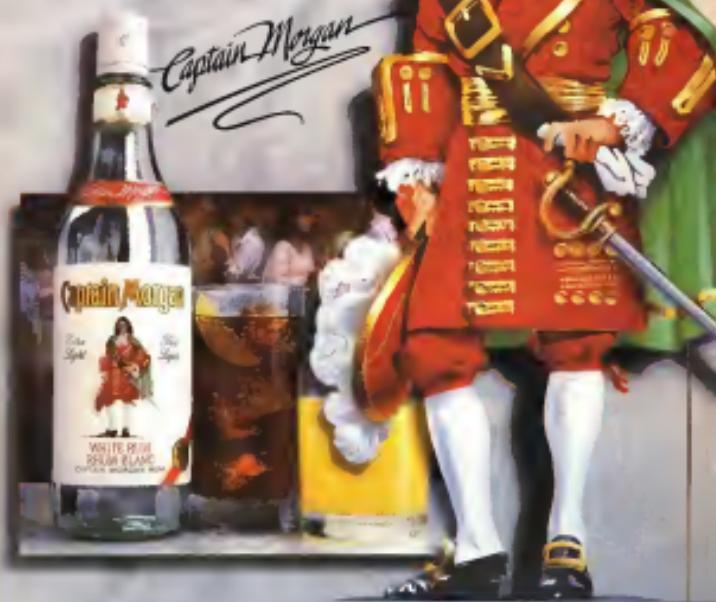
A federal report released last week supported many of the Lubicons' arguments. Written in February, 1996, by former federal justice minister E. David Kilan, the report says that hunting and trapping has declined since the oil companies became active in the Little Buffalo Lake area. As new federal and provincial regulations went into effect in 1994, the Lubicons have lost their hunting and trapping rights. "Despite suffering horrendous damage from these government strategies, they have now beaten back efforts to destroy them," said the Chicago-born activist.

This week Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein is scheduled to tour European capitals to rally support over the Olympics and the Lubicon protest. But the Lubicons seem determined to keep fighting. Band elder Edward Lubicon, 78, whose well-lit home contrasts sharply with the rest of the community, said that the band had been trying to get justice since 1958. "I'll die fighting for this land," he said. "But it won't be for me—more for my children and grandchildren." Now, because of the persistence of Omasayak and others, the Lubicons appear closer than at any time in the past half century to becoming owners of the land—and masters of their own destiny. □

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Emotional divisions

The soothing reassurances came from both partners in the transnational Canada-United States free trade agreement. In Washington, Senator Ronald Reagan told reporters last week that the Oct. 1 agreement threatens neither the sovereignty nor the independence of Canada. "Gutty, I need hardly say, does not imply hegemony," he said. And in Ottawa, Environment Minister Thomas McMillan easily sold large-scale exports of water, in an attempt to calm fears that free trade would increase U.S. access to Canadian supplies.

Despite those words of comfort, there was little sign that tempers were cooling as the free trade debate continued through a fifth session last week in Ottawa. The Commons committee on international trade heard contradictory and often emotional opinions about the deal. Meanwhile, Prince Edward Island Premier Joseph Ghiz denounced the pact as the "surrender of my country." Closer economic links with the United States, he warned, would threaten Canada's culture and sovereignty. Declared Ghiz: "The loss of sovereign rights for what appears to be immediate economic advantage will change the nature of the country we live in."

And Ontario Premier David Peterson said that his officials were trying to determine if Ontario has the constitutional authority to block the agreement.

By contrast, Alberta Premier Don

ald Getty maintained that he was pre-

pared to risk regional discord to es-

cape the risk that the agreement was accepted

as the premier declared in an interview on the eve of the Alberta-Cabinet meeting party's annual policy convention. "There is no room for this [treaty] to stretch relationships with other provinces. If that happens, well, it has to happen—because the agreement is far



Getty: the "surrender of my country"

too important to Albertans."

The sour mood even affected the Canadian and American officials who were in Washington last week trying to hammer out the final version

of the treaty, now expected in late November or early December. Officials on both sides and that they had disagreements over how the tentative deal should be translated into legal language. According to those officials, disagreements centred on sections of the deal dealing with trade and partnerships. Canada, they said, was seeking assurances from the American side on phasing out a duty-reduction program that has attracted Japanese and South Korean automakers to Canada. But the U.S. negotiators refused to make changes. A Conservative political consultant familiar with the talks told Maclean's last week that the arguments between the two sides were bitter and fundamental, and that high-level political talks might be required to end the stalemate. Said the consultant: "We are trying to rework whole sections of that agreement. We need some major changes."

Meanwhile, the debate raged on. In Ottawa, novelist Margaret Atwood told the Commons committee that the deal has the potential to destroy Canada. "We know, more or less, what we are giving up—but we can't know what we are getting in return," she complained. "People are panicking and reassuring and saying 'Honey, don't you worry about a thing.' But I haven't seen the fine print—and neither has anybody else." Later, former finance minister Donald Macdonald countered that the deal would form the Canadian economy "to adjust to the competitive realities around the world." For the federal Conservatives, those opposing arguments were a grim reminder that the country was still divided on the historic deal.

—MARY JANGAN in Ottawa

Redress for victims of crime

The legislation, according to Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn, is designed for "the forgotten person." Indeed, the government's long-awaited proposals—worth \$27.5 million—to improve compensation for victims of crime in Canada, promised in last year's speech from the throne, and tabled last week, would make several important changes to the Criminal Code. The aim is to increase both the amount of compensation available to crime victims and their involvement in the sentencing of criminals.

The most novel feature of the proposed legislation is in the so-called "victim fine surcharge," which victims would be able to levy on anyone convicted of a Criminal Code or drug-related offence. Revenue from the surcharge—a maximum of 15 per cent of any fine or a fine of up to \$10,000—would be used to improve services for victims of crime. Said Hnatyshyn of the levy: "It is a reflection of the responsibility criminals have to society."

The legislation could also encourage the use of victim-impact statements during trials. Victims would describe the damage that a crime had done to their lives, and the assessment would be taken into account by judges passing sentence.

As well, the law would require courts to consider restitution in all cases involving property loss or damage, and would oblige police to execute the return of property to victims. And victims would be entitled to compensation for financial losses stemming from physical injuries suffered.

The changes were prompted by a group working with victims. Founder Gary Rosebush of Edmonton, who founded Victims against Violence after his teenage son was killed in 1985 by gang member Clifford Olson, "Finally, victims will be able to take part in the justice system."

—MICHAEL MORSE in Ottawa with
CANDY BALASUBRAMANIAM in Toronto

In search of leadership

The news announced the members of the US Senate subcommittee on securities. Although almost three weeks had passed since the record Black Monday collapse of stock prices on the New York exchange, David Ender, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), said last week that he still had not had a significant conversation with President Ronald Reagan about the crisis. In fact, Ender told the senators that his only communication with the President was a telephone call in which Reagan congratulated the SEC staff on its work during the panic. Declared Senator Donald Regan, the Democratic chairman of the subcommittee: "I find that an astonishing fact."

Although a hands-off management style—particularly in the area of economics—has been Reagan's trademark from the first days of his administration, the lack of visible leadership from the White House during the current economic crisis has started increasing worldwide concern.

As the take dragged on without any progress, there were signs of increasing nervousness on Wall Street. Said Steven Einhorn, chairman of the investment policy committee at Goldman, Sachs & Co., a New York investment house: "The news from Washington read horribly. People in the financial community were saying, 'If what has happened in our markets can't mollify them, what can?'"

In fact, Reagan appeared to have turned economic policy leadership over to Treasury Secretary James Baker and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan. Greenspan, though technically independent of the administration, is injecting more cash into the US financial system to ease the strains from the market crash. That so-called emergency policy, in turn, impeded major banks last week to cut the interest

rate largely due to concerns that the US administration lacked "the political will to make hard choices and to do what needs to be done." At the same time, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—a longtime admirer of Reagan's conservative policies—sent a confidential letter to the White House that reportedly conveyed the same message although in more diplomatic language.

But despite press for Reagan to at least appear to take charge—excluding one from the Senate's top-ranking Republican, presidential contender Robert Dole—the President stayed largely silent from the same last week. His only direct involvement in the talks was a meeting with the Republicans congressional negotiators on Nov. 6. That apparently achieved little.

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Although a reduced dollar could ease the pressure of inflation by increasing the price of imports, including oil, it did have a bright side. Gerald Jasinski, senior economist at the Washington-based National Association of Manufacturers, estimated last week that many competitive prices because of the lower dollar would increase US exports by \$20 billion in 1985. But that export growth hinges on expansion of the economies of Japan and West Germany—two of the largest US export customers. After prolonged urging by Baker, Tokyo had already last week to ease its money supply in order to stimulate domestic spending by the country's struggling Japanese. But anti-inflationist West German economists remained resistant. The government that destroyed the German economy in the 1920s—and contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party—has left a lingering sensitivity in West Germany about encouraging spending

unless they change their best customers for loans. The result: shared up financial markets.

However, for the world's largest debtor, Greenspan's policy had a potentially dangerous downside. Much of the deficit is funded by money loaned by foreigners. But high interest rates are necessary to lure overseas funds to the United States, and when those rates drop some foreign investors begin to pull their funds out. Reduced investment, in turn, lowers the dollar's value and can set the stage for some wary foreigners to pull out of US investments. Despite that danger, Baker said that easy money was the best way to avoid recession.

Although Baker's remarks worried currency traders, bringing the dollar to its lowest point ever against the Japanese yen and the West German mark, many economists backed him. Said Robert Kirby, chairman of the Capital Guardian Trust Co.: "If I were Baker, I'd be much more worried about anything that caused a recession than about holding up the dollar." Added Harvard economist Lawrence Summers: "This is just the beginning. The dollar has got a long way to go."

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unless they have a gain to their heads."

Meanwhile, in Washington, the deficit-cutters at Capitol Hill faced a difficult balancing act. The administration taxes, backed by some congressional Republicans, remained opposed to tax increases, while the Democrats

argued that tax hikes were necessary—in addition to spending cuts. Details of the closed-door talks were sketchy, but Democratic Representative Leo Pinsky said: "You're taking two houses who have fought for 30 years and saying, 'Now, can you make up?' These basic political interests are to keep things balanced."

To complicate matters, the Senate went on under the shadow of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law, which requires Congress to cut at least \$50 billion out of the budget by Nov. 20 or face blunt across-the-board cutbacks. But although deficit cuts might reassure the markets, some economists said that reduced government spending could speed the economy toward recession. Said economist Robert Peltz: "The deficit is not the cause of the current malaise, it is a symptom of the stagnation of the US economy."

At week's end, it seemed that Washington's only achievement had been Baker's success in convincing the Germans to reduce their interest rates. The last facing New and Reserve Board Chairman Greenspan, acting as Reagan's economic surrogate, remained fearing Baker—he had focused on other matters, including his imminent summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—but not yet offered to come to the rescue.

—IAN WEST in Washington with BOB LISTER in London and PETER LEWIS in Brussels



David Ender



Baker and Mr. Greenspan, off for weekend talks on his handle-off style on a lack of visible leadership

The flawed legacy of 'Cap the Knife'

When Caspar Weinberger was President Richard Nixon's budget director, his main task was spending cuts under the name "Cap the Knife." As a result, when Weinberger's longtime friend and political associate President Ronald Reagan had his own budget of defense in 1981, it was widely assumed that he would live up to that reputation. Instead Weinberger left office last week after presiding over the largest peacetime military buildup in US history—costing more than \$26 trillion. And many economists said that that spending spree, brought with abuse and waste, contributed significantly to the huge US budget deficit, which has thrown world financial markets into turmoil.

Weinberger was a hard-line against the Soviet Union—especially on arms control. But both White House officials and Weinberger insisted last week that



Weinberger: spending

MICHAEL S. McROBBIE, H. FINE



Ortega, a dramatic but conditional offer of indirect talks with the contras

CENTRAL AMERICA

A fragile peace plan

As the first major deadline of the Central American peace plan approached, attention focused on Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. And last week, ending short a trip to Moscow, the Sandinista leader made a dramatic announcement. Just hours before the Thursday deadline deadline for official demarcation of ceasefires, accords and democratic reforms, Ortega told a news conference in Managua that he would undertake indirect ceasefire negotiations with U.S.-backed contra guerrillas. But he stressed that the talks were only to arrange a ceasefire, *not* the requirements of the regional peace accord that he signed with four other Central American presidents at Aug. 7, And, and Ortega. "We must not confuse this with political dialogue. We have never held a political dialogue with the contras; we are not doing it now, nor will we ever do it."

Ortega's eleventh-hour announcement followed earlier steps to conciliate with the rebels. Last month the Sandinistas allowed the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and the Roman Catholic Church radio station to reopen. As well, they permitted three exiled priests to return and allowed some political and trade union demonstrations. In his Thursday speech Ortega went further, announcing the immediate release of 1,800 political prisoners and declaring that he was ready to grant amnesty to all exiles prisoners and lift Nicaragua's five-year

year-old state of emergency. But there was a condition: the United States would first have to end its support for the insurgents.

The initial response from Washington was mixed. State department spokesman Charles Bedrosian mildly chastised the Sandinistas for refusing direct talks with the contras, but called the regional accord "the best hope for peace." For their part, contra leaders claimed a man from God said that they would discuss the proposal. But one of them, Adolfo Calero, called Ortega's offer "unacceptable."

President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica—architect of the Aug. 7 accord, for which he received the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize—has insisted on direct talks as the only way to break what he called the "vicious circle" of violence in Nicaragua. It was not immediately clear whether he felt the concessions that Ortega announced went far enough. One Western diplomat in Managua said flatly that the president's actions "will not satisfy" Ortega's opponents. But others said that they thought it would now be possible for the accord to be fully implemented by January, when the Central American leaders hold a summit—and when President Ronald Reagan has said that he will ask Congress for an additional \$200 million in aid to the contras.

—ANDREW BILBREY with CHRISTIE McKEEHL in Managua and correspondents' reports

TUNISIA

Sidelining of a legend

For 56 years Habib Bourguiba had been the dominant figure in Tunisian life. A key player in the campaign that won independence from France in 1956, he went on to become "President for life." While incorporating the trappings of democracy, in 1980 he launched the powerful social democratic opposition movement, raising his governing Destourian Socialist Party and his country more like the boys' (gangs) of old. "It is not easy to replace a man like me," he once said. "I have created a nation around my person." Last week, however, the man whom many Tunisians thought irreplaceable was removed unceremoniously from power. Said the signature of his son, Prime Minister Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, in taking over as president. "Our people are worthy of a political life founded on a multiparty system and plurality of popular organizations."

The official reason for the departure of Bourguiba, 84, was ill health. For many years the former president had suffered from a heart condition, and last week a medical report signed by seven doctors confirmed what many Tunisians had suspected for years that Bourguiba was used to rule because of infirmity. Ben Ali, 53, claimed on state television that his father was "dying" and citing a constitutional provision for the succession in case of the president's "death, resignation or absolute impediment."

In any case, however, the plotter may have had a more urgent motive: the need for a fresh hand to maintain stability. Tunisia, rocked by political riots in 1978 and violence that took 100 lives following food price increases in 1984, has recently had to confront a new threat, Islamic fundamentalism. Security has been tight in the capital, Tunis, since the September trial of 90 members of the Islamic Tendency Movement, on charges of plotting to overthrow the state. Two of the accused have already been hanged, bringing threats of reprisals from the extremists.

Still, at week's end, Ben Ali, who has played a leading part in suppressing the fundamentalists, seemed to be firmly in command. As new police controlled major intersections in the capital, Ben Ali promoted a close associate, Seif Al-Islam M'hamed Hedi Bourguiba to prime minister and retained several long-time stalwarts of the deposed president. After half a century it was clear that the Bourguiba era was over.

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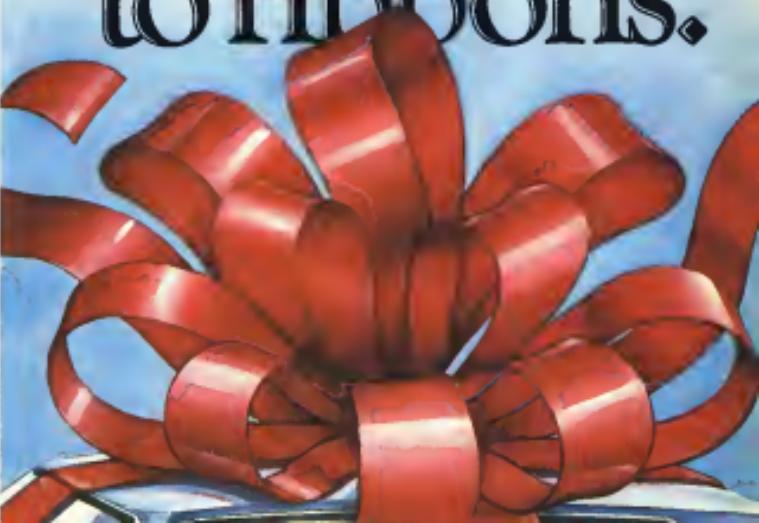
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From gridiron to campaign trail



On the lead-off game of the University of New Hampshire, 50 km northeast of Manchester, a disease was dangerous the blustery day of autumn football to within shades of brown. And inside the red-brick student center, a huddle of visiting political aides looked equally glum the rain was keeping them to cancel their game plan—an afternoon of much-needed networking. But across the stage of the packed auditorium, their boss, 50-year-old Republican Representative Jack French Kemp—the football hero-turned-nine-term Buffalo, N.Y., congressman—took to the podium, to brandish his relentless brand of positive thinking.

The five Republican rivals were worrying about his last month's stock market crash had shaken their presidential hopes. But Kemp, the candidate whose analysts predicted a right-hander, the most-welcomed the gloom as a chance to focus the spotlight on his favorite issue—economics. On Wall Street, analysts were talking of apocalypse, blaming the crash on Ronald Reagan's supply-side economics, but the cause-and-effect congressional who had helped draft that program continued to lead the charts for the turnaround theories that even the President had been forced to abandon. Reversing the market's plunge not as a disaster, but a challenge, Kemp sounded like the quarterback who was, riding his flapping team to the locker room at half time: "These are exciting times to be alive," he proclaimed.

But in recent months, Kemp has needed to apply that same dogged optimism to an unlikely cause: his own filtering bid for the White House. Already \$1.82 million in debt and struggling in the polls—lagging a distant third behind Vice-President George Bush and Senator Robert Dole—he has been forced to shrug off predictions that his campaign is toast. "Discouraged? Why should I be discouraged?" he asked during an interview with *Maclean's* aboard a chartered jet. "You can't judge a campaign when the games haven't even started."

For Kemp, the notion that he might not ultimately win is as alien as an overdoes of introspective thinking. He has spent his entire career as an underdog battling overwhelming odds. He was born the third of four competitive sons to a man who started as a 11-truck Los Angeles delivery service with a single minivan. And he had neither an ex-

cellent record nor a touchdown, and those same 45,000 fans stood up and cheered him," said Jacobs. "It was that sort of determination that shaped his leadership."

In politics, Kemp exhibited the same grit. When he arrived on Capitol Hill in 1971, critics made fun of the economic extractions he had picked up while



Kemp (far left) with family at his son's high school's a clear leader for turnaround economic theories

exceptional physique and outstanding natural gifts to become the professional football great he had dreamed of becoming since age 6. But, and his older brother Tom, a former chairman of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce who now works full-time on the Kemp-for-president campaign, their mother, a college graduate, was the pastor. She would be the one who exhorted us to think big, aim high. Kemp was turned down or dropped by five professional teams, including the Calgary Stampeders, before a final, last-minute, he was sent to the Buffalo Bills for the innocuous waiver price of \$100. But it was after that blow that he finally led the team to the 1984 and 1985 American Football League championships and earned himself the most-valuable-player title.

Former teammate Harry Jacobs, now the Bills' linebacker, remembers one game against the Houston Oilers when 45,000 fans in Buffalo's War Memorial Stadium stood up and booted Kemp. Then, on the very first play, Jack went

avividly plugging into supply-side orthodoxy during the off-season. But he fastened as these nations with the single-mindedness that he brought to football. A decade later he saw his supply-side theories confirmed as the cornerstone of Reagan's presidency. Indeed, when reporters now speculate on the possible failure of his own presidential dream, Kemp tells the story of his first campaign in a working-class district of Buffalo. When a local apartment owner asked what he would do if he lost, he replied: "I'm a quarterback. And quarterbacks don't go into games thinking they're going to lose."

Now, his older past is Jimmy Carter's similar low standing at the same point in 1976. In fact, a poll after last month's televised Republican debate in Houston showed that the improvement in Kemp's popularity rating was second only to that of television evangelist Jim Bakker. But many major corporate donors have reacted to Kemp's populist ideas, which aim to bring blacks, Hispanics and later into a

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broadened Republican party. And hard-line conservatives have not adopted his cause to be the trend in Republicans.

But Kemp wants that to be understood. During his university speech, a steady stream of students had filtered out of the auditorium—most protesting his praise for Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly dubbed Star Wars. But snarling, jabbing the air with the curved middle finger of his right hand—set years ago after he sojourned to India after his first term as governor—he still could not hold a football—the candidate who calls himself a beneficiary

of his would come home with his racket around. And when Jennifer writes a letter, he says she could have seen only of the heat him on the tennis court. Only after she beat him twice did she find a silver Honda sitting in the driveway with a note. "You win."

All four Kemp children were sent out on dates with their father's parting words: "Be a leader," said Jennifer. "He means that you may not always be popular, but you have to stand up for what you believe." She says that he applies the same philosophy to his campaign.



Republican candidates Alexander Haig, George Bush, George H. W. Bush, Robert Dole and Pat Robertson in Monroeville

around dave relished the confrontation. On the side-lines, his 22-year-old daughter, Judith, a pretty blonde working for his New Hampshire campaign, recognized the glint in his eye. She had seen it often back home in Bethesda, Md., a Washington suburb, around the family dinner table. Only months earlier—as a political science major—she too had argued against her father's stand on Star Wars, as well as his opposition to abortion and his championing of the New England contra rebels. But she had kept hammering his points at her—often taking her and her 14-year-old sister, Jennifer, with him to visit contra camps in Honduras in September—until he was won over. "He lets you make up your own mind," she said. "What he's so convinced he's right that he just keeps at you until you see things his way."

That fighting spirit has been instilled in the whole Kemp family. Even his beautiful wife, Joanne, his college sweetheart and a costume cheerleader, challenges him on the tennis court. Kemp used to hate losing so much that

she remembers seeing him disconsolate only when watching his two sons play football. Once, when the older son, Jeff—now 27 and a quarterback with the Seattle Seahawks—was leading his Dartmouth College team, his agitated father could not resist stretching down to the sideline to touch a helmet. "Dad," she paused. "The coach is now laughing at the joke on himself." Jeff leaped over and in front of the whole stands, including Ted Kennedy, who was there at the Harvard side, and, "Dad, get with it," he said.

Kemp is the only presidential candidate who takes every Friday night off to watch football—specifically, his 16-year-old son, Jeremy, quarterback for a Maryland high-school team. In fact, football, politics and family life are the three lodestones around which his life turns. His four children are engaged that political analysis fault line for columnists. Among the New Hampshire university crowd, he is constantly grabbing his daughters' hands, and Judith remembers him in tears over a poem she had written

she remembers seeing him disconsolate only when watching his two sons play football. Once, when the older son, Jeff—now 27 and a quarterback with the Seattle Seahawks—was leading his Dartmouth College team, his agitated father could not resist stretching down to the sideline to touch a helmet. "Dad," she paused. "The coach is now laughing at the joke on himself." Jeff leaped over and in front of the whole stands, including Ted Kennedy, who was there at the Harvard side, and, "Dad, get with it," he said.

—MARK McDOWALD in Manchester



SMOOTH AS SILK.

Slowing down *glasnost*

Throughout Mikhail Gorbachev's two-hour speech last week to mark the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet television cameras repeatedly showed two notably conservative members of the ruling Politburo looking over his shoulder. The faces of Andrei Gromyko and Yegor Ligachev loomed in the background, took on deeper symbolicism as the suspicion grew among Eastern European and Western observers that they and others in the leadership had put the brakes on some of the Soviet leader's reformist overtures. Instead of a working celebration of the new vigor Gorbachev has attempted to instill into the creaky Soviet system, the celebrations were dominated by reminders of just how difficult it will be to escape from the straitjacket of the Soviet past. (See box, *Western diplomat*.) "The whole atmosphere around this jubilee is somewhat wrong for Gorbachev."

Indeed, the shift to a more conservative course than many analysts had expected had already been set at a brief, closed meeting of the Communist Party's powerful Central Committee

almost two weeks earlier. Soviet officials later confirmed that Boris Yeltsin, the Moscow party chief, offered his resignation at the Oct. 25 meeting because of the slow pace of reform. Because Yeltsin was apparently the only member of the leadership to call for a speedier pace of reform, Gorbachev

After setting a course for bold reform, Gorbachev has put on the brakes to satisfy the hard-liners in the Communist Party

then did, he was clearly battling the conservatives in the 380-member Central Committee. Just as clearly, he lost. And when Gorbachev stepped up to the podium in the Kremlin's enormous Palace of Congresses on Nov. 2, the outcome of the behind-the-scenes political battle was soon apparent.

What the 6,000-strong audience and the millions watching on national television saw and heard was obviously a

product of many compromises. At the source was Soviet history and the question of whether the party and the nation could finally confront the structures committed by Josef Stalin, the Soviet dictator from 1922 until his death in 1953. But although Gorbachev named the names of some of the victims of the Stalin era, the extent of the admissions fell far short of the standards already set by the state-controlled media. Thus, Gorbachev said that Stalin was guilty of "enormous and unforgivable" crimes, but he named Stalin's victims in "thousands," not the millions that Western researchers have painstakingly documented over the decades.

And instead of rehabilitating such prominent victims of Stalin's purge as old Bolshevik Nikolai Bokhvin, as earlier hinted at in the Soviet media, Gorbachev merely announced that a commission would be formed to study the matter. He慷慨地 dismissed Leon Trotsky, Stalin's rival for leadership after the death of Lenin in 1924. Trotsky, who founded the Red Army after the revolution and was credited with the new regime's military victories over the counterrevolution, fled into exile after Stalin took over, and he was murdered by a supposed Soviet agent in Mexico in 1940. One disgruntled former leader, when Gorbachev

did mention—and praise—was Nikita Khrushchev, who led the nation between 1953 until he was ousted by the party in 1964. It was Khrushchev who first denounced Stalin's crimes in an extended Central Committee in a 1956 speech which has never been published in the Soviet Union. Praising Khrushchev's reforms, Gorbachev also condemned the political, industrial and intellectual stagnation that followed under Leonid Brezhnev. Yet Gorbachev seemed to be trying to please party hard-liners when he went on to praise the rigidly centralized industrial and economic system that Stalin created in the 1930s. Stalin's policies, said Gorbachev, had turned the country into a leading industrial and military power.

For weeks, the Gorbachev speech had been anticipated for the light it seemed likely to shed on future policies and Gorbachev's own strength inside the Politburo. A Western diplomat who declared himself "disappointed" said that Gorbachev's words "indicated more resistance at higher levels than we thought even two weeks ago." And although human rights activist and Nobel peace laureate Andrei Sakharov, who was released from internal exile 11 months ago, described the speech as "very important," he added: "I expected more. I wanted more. Gorbachev did not tell all the truth that

should have been told about the 1900s and 1940s."

Meanwhile, supposedly reflecting Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (openness), news conferences were held twice daily through the week. But while Gorbachev's speech is to be a radical review of history, others expected he would just scratch the surface. I expected something in between, and that's about where it came out,"

Some analysts say that Gorbachev's speech was only a tactical move to strengthen his hand for more battles ahead. But the apparent opposition to his reforming ideas comes from within the party leadership, even at an awkward moment. On Jan. 1, 60 percent of Soviet production is due to turn over to a new system of self-management. In reality, say observers, it will be a mix of old and new—the government setting production targets while often totally inexperienced managers decide how to reach those goals. Most Soviets expect predict industrial chaos. And that could only reinforce the doubts that Kremlin conservatives have evidently been harboring about the wisdom of continuing along the path charted by Gorbachev's twin themes of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost*.

—CATHERINE REEDER in Moscow



Gorbachev: the architect of the past

sense of old thinking was abundant. That was particularly so when, the day after Gorbachev's speech, Aleksandr Yakovlev—the Politburo member most closely associated with

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Ginsburg with wife, Makia, and daughter, also Hulie. "I drown in the claws."

THE UNITED STATES

Exit the smoking judge

When it became clear last month that the U.S. Senate would reject Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court, President Ronald Reagan declared defiantly that his next nominee would be "one they I object to just as much." Last week that prediction proved all too true. Media disclosures about a possible conflict-of-interest case involving the new nominee, Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg, and news stories about shortcomings performed by his wife, a doctor, quickly made the 45-year-old Federal Court of Appeals judge a target for Republicans as well as Democratic critics. Then came the fatal thrust in response to allegations on National Public Radio. Ginsburg admitted late last week that he had smoked marijuana "a few occasions" in the 1960s and 1970s. Two days later he asked Reagan to withdraw his nomination. Said Ginsburg: "My views of the law and what kind of Supreme Court Justice I would make have been drowned out in the claws."

In making his announcement, Ginsburg was bowing to the inevitable. Within 24 hours of his original admission, Education Secretary William Bennett phoned Ginsburg to suggest that he withdraw his candidacy. A spokesman for the secretary said that Bennett had informed Ginsburg of his plan to call the judge and that Bennett had replied, "Do what you think is right." Only hours earlier, Reagan had defended his nominee to reporters. Said Reagan: "He was not an adult... nothing of that kind happened."

Indeed, Ginsburg's admission referred to only a few episodes during his years

as a student and an assistant law professor at Harvard Law School. But it remained a grave potential embarrassment for a president whose work, many, has waged a nationwide campaign urging young people to "say no" to illegal drugs. The importance of that factor was implied in Ginsburg's withdrawal statement. He said that the Senate deserved "immense credit for leading the fight against drugs." Added Ginsburg: "I hope that the young people of this country, including my own daughter, will learn from my mistake."

Ginsburg's withdrawal saved both himself and the White House from further embarrassment concerning the Supreme Court. But the judge may still face some hard questions about other allegations raised during his brief candidacy. As head of the Justice department's antitrust division in 1986, Ginsburg successfully argued before the Supreme Court that constitutional press freedom protected cable television operators against certain types of regulation. But at the time, Ginsburg had a \$165,000 investment in Toronto-based Rogers Communications Inc., which has more than 400,000 U.S. cable subscribers. The U.S. Office of Government Ethics is now investigating Ginsburg's conduct.

As for Reagan, he was expected to return to the long list of conservative candidates for the vacancy caused by the retirement of Justice Lewis Powell. It should, in the hopes that the old saying "third time lucky" would for once prove true.

—IAN AUSTIN in Washington

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Welding on the GM assembly line in Oshawa: continuing pressurized signals from auto layoffs and nervous stock markets

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

To the brink of recession

The panic that swept North American stock exchanges on Black Monday, Oct. 19, and during the subsequent immediately following the recent breaking crash had ebbed last week. But investors, brokers and analysts alike still found little solace in the markets and other indicators of the health of the economy. The stock market index, which measures the combined values of leading shares on the exchanges, fluctuated wildly and created new worries that share prices could plunge dramatically again. "Everyone's looking for answers," said Gerald Brischetto, senior vice-president of investments with Toronto-based savings savings Inst. Ltd. "But we're not out of this yet. That's what's so eerie."

Although the markets faded again last week to produce clear signals about where the economy is headed, there were other signs of emerging trouble. In the beleaguered automotive industry, General Motors of Canada Ltd. (GM) announced that it would eliminate an entire shift, employing 3,700 workers, at its Oshawa, Ont., assembly plant. Then, Chrysler Corp. Canada disclosed that it would temporarily lay off 1,000 workers from an assembly plant in Brampton, northeast of Toronto. At the same time, the Bank of Montreal released a gloomy year-end economic forecast for 1988, predicting that Canada will only narrowly avoid slipping into a recession next year. The bank forecast that the gross domestic product will grow by only 4.4 per cent next year, compared with an estimated 5.1 per cent in 1987. "We aren't forecasting disaster," said bank chairman William Malbollard. "But there will be a slowing up in the context of a tender, sensitive environment."

The stock market crash did not cause the auto industry layoffs, but the timing of these two events could be devastating for the economy. Auto analyst Dennis Desrosiers, president of Toronto-based Desrosiers Automotive Research Inc., said that the fact that layoffs have happened at the same time as

the market crash could destroy consumer confidence. And a slowdown in the auto industry will affect the entire economy, Desrosiers argued. "One in seven jobs in this country is tied to the auto industry," he said. "If you start announcing layoffs, you are sure to see a ripple effect in the economy."

General Motors will eliminate its night shift at the Oshawa plant by the end of November. But those workers will share the jobs of the dayshift workers by working two weeks and taking the next two weeks off at least until the end of the year. In the U.S., GM also disclosed that it would shut down a plant in Massachusetts, laying off 3,700 workers or said that it was curbing production due to sluggish sales. But Chrysler spokesman Gordon Pfeiffer said that the Brampton plant was being closed as a result of quality-control problems on a new car—the Eagle Premier—which the company had just begun to produce in October.

GM's Canadian car sales for the first 30 months of the year were

down 7.5 per cent, to 150,362, from 161,587 in the same period in 1986. Likewise, GM's 10-month car sales have dropped to 254,189 this year from 254,219 in 1986, a drop of 8 per cent. Ford Motor Co. of Canada announced that its car sales had declined by 10 per cent. But Ford's October sales had still dropped by 8.8 per cent from the same month in 1986. Ford spokesman James Hesketh said that after several good years, sales of North American-built cars have dwindled. At the same time, new Japanese production is coming upstream in North America. Added Chrysler's Pfeiffer: "With an expectation of three million vehicles, something has to give."

While economists across the country are now revising their 1988 forecasts in the wake of the stock market crash, the Bank of Montreal was one of the first major institutions to release its assessment. And by any measure, it was pessimistic. The bank forecast unemployment rising to 9.4 per cent from the current 8.4 per cent. It predicted that the economy will drop dramatically to 163,000 new jobs from an estimated 200,000 in 1987. Business investment, which jumped by 12 per cent that year, will decline only a modest 1.2 per cent in 1988. Previous forecasts had seen a three-per-cent increase in consumer spending. Now it is calling for no increase. Chairman Malbollard said that the United States can restore some stability to the markets and prevent a recession by cutting its budget deficit. But he said that he was not optimistic about that happening. "It might be necessary for another big job to focus these minds," said Malbollard. "The next two months are going to be crucial."

But last week, White House and congressional negotiations were bogged down and the lack of progress was evident in the markets. The fluctuations in the New York Stock Exchange's Dow Jones industrial index were reflected in markets around the world. In five sessions between Tuesday, Oct. 19, and Monday, Nov. 2, the Dow rose to 206,499 from 184,449. Then it fell a total of almost 119 points over the next three days. Detroit's Wayne-Dan, a portfolio manager with Vancouver-based investment manager M. K. Wong and Associates Ltd., "We're not back to the early days of 30- to 35-point movements in the Dow." He added that since Black Monday, "we have replaced price among price movements. As a result, when the stock market goes up, average investors are buying the market with smaller doses of cash rather than to get into some profit or to eat their losses."

But the large institutional and foreign investors are also contributing to the instability. David Neale, senior

vice-president of institutional trading with Toronto-based broker Neale, Thomas & Sons Inc., said that European and American investors were still reducing their holdings in Canadian stocks last week. The institutional investors were moving in all directions, he said. Some were moving bank into the market to take advantage of lower prices. Others were seeking with existing portfolios and some were selling. Said Neale: "There is an clear-cut consensus in my mind."

While the big investors watched for progress as the budget deficit, the Reagan administration responded by cutting interest rates and letting the U.S. dollar fall to avoid a recession. After Treasury Secretary James Baker set out the administration's priorities in a *Wall Street Journal* interview, the dol-

lar rose unperceived. It could also lead to greater corporate concentration in Canada, said Jarecki. Such major companies as Montreal-based Power Corp. of Canada, which are healthy and flush with cash, will be able to buy small companies at bargain prices.

But there were still some optimistic voices in the investment community arguing that there were excellent buys available as a result of the stock market crash. Diversions of solid Canadian companies are now trading well below the market value of their assets because of the collapse in share prices. Said David Wilkes, president of Toronto-based brokerage firm Mon, Lawson & Co. Ltd.: "I am fabulously bullish about the market. I have never been this bullish."

Wilkes said that Toronto-based



WILKES: A chance to make profits in the aftermath of the Black Monday crash

lar closed last Friday at 1,6796. West German marks, a postwar record low. It also slid to 120.00 Japanese yen, also a postwar low. Meanwhile, the Canadian dollar closed up slightly at 75.21 (US\$) that day, but had already done a year's high of 77.12 (US\$) on Oct. 26.

Still, as the leaders of the major industrial nations struggled to keep their economies afloat, some observers said that a recession is inevitable. Mutual Investment counselor Stephen Jarecki, whose company manages assets at \$4 billion, said that sharp declines in the stock market have always been followed by economic downturns. But he added that a sharp would create "unique buying opportunities" for shrewd investors because stocks would

Stelco Inc., one of North America's most efficient steel producers, was trading at less than \$25 a share last week, while an analysis of its balance sheet put the value of the company at \$35 per share. He also said that Toronto-based Falconbridge Ltd., a major producer of copper, nickel and other base metals, has sharply reduced operating costs since 1985. Any increase in metal prices will mean higher profits, said Wilkes. "It is difficult to see how you can't double your money in five years," he added. But that breed of bullishness likely will not be enough to lure many shell-shocked investors back to the still-fluctuating stock markets.

—DANIEL JENSEN with SHANE ALEXANDER in Toronto

Settling Brazil's account

Brazil's embattled political leaders appeared to have won their game of brinkmanship with some of the world's top bankers last week as eight-month standoffs between Brazil and its creditors ended with the South American nation agreeing to repay a small part of the interest it owes on \$904 billion of foreign borrowing. Brazil had suspended interest payments last February in the midst of a growing domestic economic crisis. The new arrangement protects U.S. banks, which

banks had demanded steadily since a civilian government took control of the country in early 1985 and debated the legitimacy of the huge debts amassed during 20 years of military rule. After months of fruitless negotiation, Brazil announced on Feb. 20 that it was suspending interest payments on \$904 billion in foreign bank loans, including \$71 billion from Canadian creditors. Since then, unpaid interest has soared to \$6 billion.

Under the terms of last week's settle-



Slums in São Paulo: a plan for an impoverished nation to pay off part of a huge international debt

otherwise would have had to acknowledge officially that at least part of their \$37 billion in losses to Brazil was unsatisfactory. But at the same time, the achievement came at the expense of the major commercial creditors, including six Canadian banks, they will have to lead the country part of the money it needs to make the interest payments. And a permanent end to Brazil's external debt problem seems almost as distant as before.

Even so, the country's creditors generally welcomed the agreement as a breakthrough in an increasingly bitter dispute. Brazil and one Canadian banker, "will be pleased to pay half" on the rest of its debt, added Penelope Hartland-Thompson, an associate with Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The agreement buys time for the banks and Brazil."

Relations between Brazil and its

creditors will be required to pay only about 35 cents on each dollar of interest owed. Brazil and its creditors, including the six Canadian banks, were persuaded to accept the compromise that was proposed by officials of the U.S. treasury department and the Federal Reserve Board in October. Under that plan, Brazil will pay \$2 billion in interest costs and the banks will lead Brazil to repay \$6 billion to make further interest payments. The money will be released to creditors as the two sides work toward a permanent agreement. Meanwhile, Brazil will resume full interest payments on its own next year. The South American economy appears to have struck a winning deal, but one Canadian banker added that "as long as we have Brazil less than we receive, we are not financing our own interest repayment."

But the settlement pushed the diffi-

cult task of rescheduling repayment of Brazil's \$904-billion commercial debt into 1986. There are some savers and that both sides hoped at key compromised that may make a rescheduling deal easier. For their part, the banks agreed to write off some of their losses in Brazil, while Brazil seemed to seize on its opportunity to demand that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) be allowed to oversee its future economic policy. In the past the Brazilians had opposed monitoring by the IMF. Its initial appearance on placards during anti-military demonstrations in 1985, representing IMF as *Inflação, Fome—Inflation, Misery and Hunger*.

Meanwhile, the new pact offers relief for both sides in the debt dispute. The U.S. banks clearly had their backs to the wall. With Brazil refusing to make payments on its loans, U.S. bank regulators had threatened to ban them from lending "value-supported" loans. That designation would have forced the banks to set aside up to \$7.5 billion against the so-called bad debt.

Still, critics charged that the agreement merely allows Brazil to repay old loans with new borrowings. Said Ray Calleppi as contrast with the Ottawa-based North-South Institute: "Private spending is international finance. 'It's just a bookkeeping transaction. The banks are paying themselves interest,'" added Brazilian economist Ibrahim Erso, a former negotiator for Brazil on its foreign debt. "This simply avoids a disaster for U.S. banks."

At the same time, political uncertainty in Brazil could still lead a permanent settlement. Brazilian President José Sarney's popularity has plummeted as a consequence of economic factors slowed inflation to reach 890 per cent a year. And a constituent assembly charged with drafting a new constitution appears poised to choose a parliamentary form of government that could further reduce Sarney's power. Both developments could make it difficult for the president to deliver on his negotiator's unspoken promise to accept the supervision as the price tag of settling Brazil's debt.

—CHRIS WOOD with WILLIAM LOWTHORPE in Washington and RICHARD HOGG in Rio de Janeiro

A fashionable Canadian connection

In a huge white tent in the gardens of the Louvre late last month a scandalously-nude crush of journalists and clothing buyers struggled for a view of the runway, where models displayed the latest creations of the Paris fashion house of Pierre Balmain. The sleek, long-legged mannequins displayed 170 new outfitts created by Balmain designer Eric Morrielson. They ranged from exotic bikini skirts to elegant polo-style silk and satin perfect for an afternoon at the horse races. But throughout the 10-day show, which included some of France's top fashion houses, the applause was loudest for a new collection of ingénues but sumptuously wearable clothing. Balmain, now under Canadian ownership, has suddenly re-emerged as a house for the fashion industry to watch.

Following founder Pierre Balmain's death five years ago, Balmain lost its focus and started to produce what industry analysts said were standard, predictable designs. As it did, it became the formation member of France's elite club of high-fashion houses. But in July 1986, Eric Fayer, a real-estate Montreal businessman who already had in his holdings a 100,000-square-foot shopping center in that city, took over the firm, which last year had sales of \$28.2 million, and transformed it with an injection of cash and what his colleagues described as his "hard-core" business sense. "The change started here in Canada," said Balmain president Claude Bégin. "For years this firm had no evolution, so sparkle. We needed some new life, and Fayer has provided it."

Traditionally, leading Paris fashion houses have concentrated on design, while the actual production of their work was carried out under licensing agreements with various clothing factories around the world. But Fayer charted a new course. He diversified his operations away from strictly fashion into a line of luxury products including perfume and accessories. As part of that strategy, he bought back the rights to Balmain perfume, which had been sold to Revlon about 25 years ago, and added five other lines of perfume. At the same time, he acquired one of the most modern perfume

plants in France, which is now producing Balmain's product line.

Fayer has also canceled licensing agreements that allowed non-Balmain firms to produce its products. Factories in Third World countries were choosing non-high-fashion designs with second-rate craftsmanship, which damaged the reputation of the

rest of fashion—a so-called élite, at upscale, ready-to-wear line.

The new line is appearing at a time when industry analysts see saying that high fashion has a shrinking market. At the same time, too many fashion houses are producing products for the traditional ready-to-wear—now dubbed "fastwear"—market. Fayer's new line will cater to a new market: the woman who is not a member of the élite but still has enough money for higher-priced fashion.

Fayer is also planning to enlarge his profile in Paris by opening a new boutique in the fabolous Faubourg Saint-Honoré—the retail showcase of Paris fashion. It will carry his élite ready-to-wear line as well as a full range of luxury Balmain products. The new line's outfitts will sell at prices ranging from \$85 to \$800—more than twice as much as traditional ready-to-wear lines, which will sell in boutiques and department stores.

The new marketing approach, according to Fayer, puts Balmain at the "head of the pack." He noted that only industry-leading Yves Saint Laurent is bringing perfume with fashion, through its recent re-acquisition of Yves Saint Laurent of the Champs Elysées. Fayer is also attempting to widen his grip on the still-expanding élite line with his investment in the south-oriented Tel Legiose house, where he already holds a majority interest and is picking up control.

Fayer also represents a new trend in the ownership of the French fashion houses. Beffel said that the influx of foreign capital, represented by entrepreneurs such as Fayer, is transforming the industry. Interestingly, firms outside of France are buying into the sector, but are leaving the French in charge of design. And Beffel said that he feels lucky to be working with a foreigner like Fayer who at least speaks his language and shares some of the French culture. "His motivation was certainly partly profit," said Beffel. "But he has a sort of artist's temperament and apparently wanted to indulge in investing in some of the finer things in life."



Balmain offerings for spring: ravishing a famous name

Coalition politics, Italian-style

By Peter C. Newman

American expatriate novelist Gore Vidal once remarked that for most Italians "a political party is never a specific program, it is a flag, a litany, the sound of a tremor practising in the night." Perhaps that metaphor helps explain why the country's fifth postwar government is disintegrating, with few willing to give odds that Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini can last until spring and why so many are particularly worried about it.

Because of Italy's peculiar proportional voting system, half a dozen parties participate in government even though some receive less than three per cent of the ballots. Because authority is thus split among widely disparate ideologies, and because the governing parties are determined to keep the second-ranking Communists from the gates of power, no one political group can exerted a working majority. Every Italian government since 1946 has been a coalition of the dominant Christian Democrats and various other parties, including the Socialists and such smaller groupings as the Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals. Each cabinet past and every government policy becomes a haggling chip, and at nearly every real or imagined crisis the coalitions fly apart. The average life-span of Italy's postwar administrations has been about 90 months, but four have collapsed in less than two weeks and one 1972 coalition lasted only nine days.

As in every aspect of Italian life, appearance is seldom reality. A closer examination of the 47 governments that have held office during the past four decades reveals that most of the players haven't changed. Giulio Andreotti, the present foreign minister, for example, has been a member of nearly every Italian administration since the late 1940s, as has Amintore Fanfani, currently the interior minister. It's a bit like a soccer game in which the players take turns at being captain.

The exception is all this mediocrity is Bettino Craxi, the Socialists' secretary general and the first member of his party to win the prime-ministership. His leadership lasted an unprecedented 48 months. In last summer's election his Socialists gained 23 per cent to win 143 per cent of the votes, and he is now waiting patiently for a return to power.

This is one of a series of columns on Italy's dramatic economic recovery.

A tall, tough-talking university dropout from Milan, Craxi is his mentor's discourses don't fit the stereotype of Italian demagogues. During my 30-minute interview, except for shan-shawing Salvozzi and occasionally tapping his desk for emphasis, he talked calmly about his placed overthrow of the current Christian Democrat regime. "One can do the fighting a last battle, or one can do the



Craxi: an exception to the mediocrity

old age in bed," was his assessment judgmental to me of Craxi's chances.

Although he prides himself on being a doctrinaire socialist, Craxi admits that ideology has "a traditional kind of weight, which ends up making things a little bit immutable. Certainly the Italian state has yet to be modernized and, while constitutional reform is needed, it has become something of a mirage, a phoenix that everyone talks about, but no one knows where it exists."

Craxi's most daring innovation as prime minister was to take on the unions by reducing wage indexes and to

inflation and winning a referendum on the issue. That was the main factor in reducing the country's inflation rate to under five per cent in the past 12 months from a high in 1982 of 21.3 per cent. There is talk of a new left-wing coalition to replace the dominant Christian Democrats, but Craxi has so far ruled out a direct partnership with the Communists.

If that ever happens, he will have to bargain with Achille Occhetto, the Communist party's deputy secretary general and her apparent. Going to interview Occhetto, I had to pass through bullet-proof glass doors and corridors lined with portraits of Lenin, Marx, Engels and various other saints of Communist orthodoxy. But there turned out to be very little orthodoxy about Occhetto himself, or at least he was not about to wash his dirty linen in public. Keeping in mind Ed Broadbent's pledge to take Canada out of the race if he ever gains office, I asked the most powerful Communist in Western Europe the same question. He looked at me as if I were deranged. "Of course Italy should stay in NATO," he shot back. "Any change of alliances would be a mistake."

"What is peculiar to our party," the Communist official went on, "is that we are for a transformation of Italian society, fully respecting all democratic principles. We are trying to forge an alliance of the left-hand side on an ideological confluence but an emotional support for specific policies."

One of the more interesting political groups around comes from the Communists in the Greens, who ran for the first time in last summer's election and garnered 2.5 per cent of the votes. Their proposals include creating Italian cities as an endangered species and fighting the development of nuclear energy. Because some Greens are more left wing than others, even that tiny party is split into two groups: Greens Red and Red Greens.

The strongest political movement of all is the Radical Party, a band of pranksters whose members include Ilario Stolfi, the queen of Italian pin-ups, who campaigned by barefoot and single-breasted at every whistle-stop. Massimo D'Alema, the Radicals' leader, recently protested against what he considered restrictions on his freedom of speech by going through a 20-minute TV panel discussion wearing a gimp, with his hands bound. It was the perfect visual symbol for the current state of Italian politics. Some treachery



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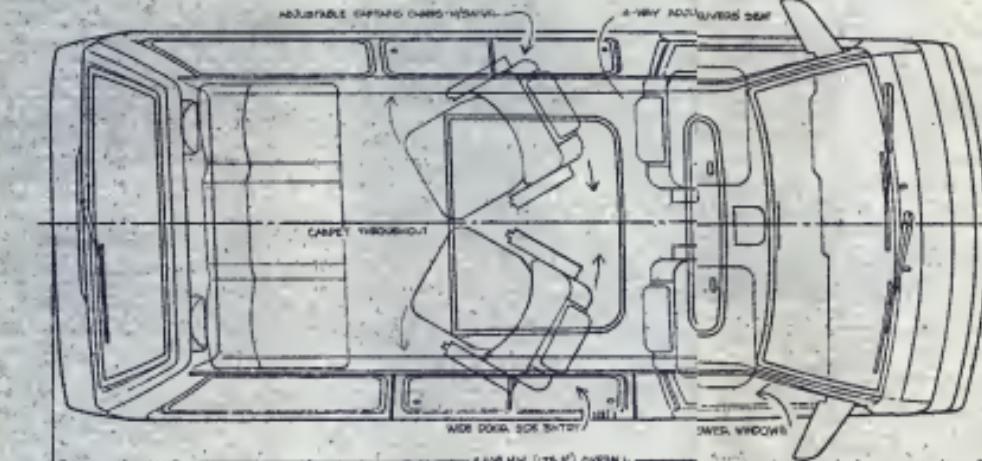
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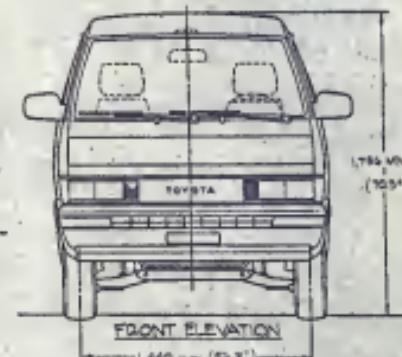
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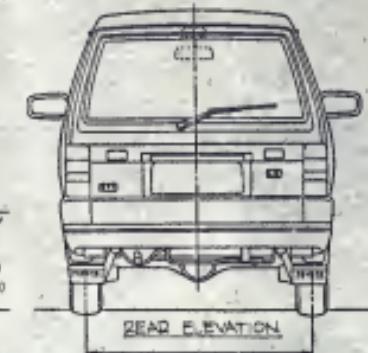
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WHAT WOMEN WANT NOW

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—John Stuart Mill (1869-1873)

Some people say that it gave out of the civil rights movement, which convulsed the United States during the 1960s. Others regard it as only the latest skirmish in a revolution that began in 1968—enrobed again when women unsuccessfully petitioned the king for the right to vote. Some of its supporters claim it has achieved much. Others say that it has yet to achieve anything worthwhile. But most talk about it not in terms of success or failure but as a continuing struggle that has made measurable gains in the pursuit of its ever-elusive ultimate promise. And for the modern-day, worldwide women's movement, which many say began almost 20 years ago with the publication of an influential book,

Women's studies programs at University of Toronto: achievements of feminism



Photo: AP

the explanation is conspiracy. Some women have worked long and hard and art suffering from breast cancer.

Most activists, however, still work long and hard, and such issues as property and physical abuse often keep them fighting. Darlene Dailey of Dartmouth, N.B., a 21-year-old mother of two, is acutely aware of both issues. She left her husband 20 years ago. Now, with rent for her apartment absorbing 60 per cent of her monthly welfare income of \$800, Dailey said that she and her family face a constant struggle to survive. Declared Dailey, who is a member of Mothers United for Mutual Shelter (MUMS), an activist group of single mothers: "If I had known what I would experience in my first year away from home, I would have chosen to live an existence every second day instead of poverty every day."

Activist Christine Hasic, 31, Ontario human rights minister, and Lisa Anderson, a former president of the National Action Committee, said that women have always been the victims in it is beaten or abused and are young women in fear. "In some ways we are similarly shaped," before she reaches 18, declared Hasic. "The fact that women are the victims of this kind of abuse is part of a much larger system in which women are less valued. I am not blaming men. Men and women were born into this mess together, and we have to get out of it together."

That idea of men and women as partners in social reform was never an option for many early spokespeople of socialist politics who espoused confrontation and distress. But the anger of the 1960s, although still present, has cooled, and dedicated feminists—the leaders, politicians and lobbyists for the women's movement—seen more pragmatism with goal-oriented strategies than street-based demonstrations. Declared Vancouver alderwoman Carole Taylor: "In the early days there was lots of pushing and shoving, but the movement has matured and women are getting into positions of influence and power. Twenty years ago women were on the outside. Now they're on the inside."

Habis And although the women's movement has become part of "the whole fabric of society," according to Toronto's Anderson, women were still not "part of the establishment." Said Anderson: "They are not making the rules in too

areas where the power is—business and politics." Diane Fenstiel, a 36-year-old sociology professor at the University of Guelph, added that the women's movement had been only "a qualified success" because although provisions requiring equal pay for equal work could be legislated, "you can't legislate attitudes."

Indeed, many participants in women's struggle for equality say that, if feminism had a single objective, it

Trudeau when he was Prime Minister. "One of the saddest things that young women today think is that to be successful, or to be a strong woman or a feminist, you can't be personally happy." The explanation, suggested Hoffmann-Niemhoff, is that young women "haven't been through enough yet to appreciate the women's movement. When they hit 30 or so, feminists won't teach a bad word any more."

Now, according to Ballow, the women



Clerical workers: Little change in the average woman's pay and work conditions

would probably be to change attitudes—of men toward women, of young women toward the movement, of men and women toward marriage and male-female relationships generally. Among its successes, according to Montreal educator Greta Hoffmann-Niemhoff, 49, is a different view of marriage. Declared Hoffmann-Niemhoff, who in 1971 helped teach a pioneering course in women's studies at Concordia University: "Women no longer expect marriage to be the be-all and end-all, especially women with careers."

But Concordia's Hirschman said that she has colleagues "who are frightened by what they hear coming out of the mouths of some young women. They want to get married and have a family, and have some of them." Added Maude Barlow, 46, a private consultant on pay equity in Ottawa and sometime senior adviser on women's issues to Pierre

Trudeau when he was Prime Minister. "The co-ordination staff, to an extent, is passing. It's time to move on. The new wave will take us toward integration, the movement of women into the system with what we have learned from trying to change the system. This will be the real test." She added: "There are men on our side, but many men don't want these changes and don't want to share power. After all, we aren't talking about applying Band-Aids. We are talking about profound change."

Style In her 1979 book, *The Feminist Handbook*, Germaine Greer wrote: "I'm sick of being my own intelligence, my own will, my own sex. I'm sick of pretending that some fatuous male's self-importance, pretensions and pride are the object of my undivided attention. I refuse to be a female impersonation. I refuse to be a woman, not a feminist." The words being used by many women now may be astute—but the message remains the same.



—PALE CHERILLAS with DOUG SMITH in Ottawa, LISA VAN DERK in Montreal, VALERIE BLOOMFIELD in Halifax, GLENORIA MCNAUL in Vancouver and international reports

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Geologist Bovine: "Men can't afford to harbor any blind prejudices anymore."

DETERMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Driving over the frigid North Atlantic for up to 15 hours a day—often in emergencies in which a delay could result in a loss of millions of dollars—helicopter pilot Nathalie Page delivers workers and crucial equipment to oil drilling installations 250 miles off the coast of Newfoundland. Page is the only woman on a team of 30 pilots employed by St. John's-based Sealand Helicopters Ltd. and the only woman in Canada flying the sophisticated Super Puma, a heavy helicopter designed to withstand harsh weather conditions and equipped with more navigation equipment than as average passenger jet. At 46, after 17 years working as a bush pilot in Western Canada and 18 months flying the Super Pumas, Page has reached the pinnacle of helicopter avi-

ation. But she says that the attitude of some of her male colleagues is not helping her along the way. Said Page, "I sometimes get the feeling that certain houses were hoping I would get fed up and quit."

Rejected Page chose to persevere, but she says that she suspects her wages and her advancement would have been better if she had been a man. Last year she earned less than \$30,000. For her part, Sealand vice-president Mark Deakin says that Page was treated no differently than other employees and that her salary would be consistent with a company pay scale based on experience and seniority. But her applications to work on heavy helicopters in Western Canada were rejected for more than six years, even though she had an excellent

at financial institutions and depressing remarks from men. As a result, there are many doubts about how genuine the gains are, said Lester Delisle, 43, the Ottawa-based president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. "In the last 15 years we have seen much movement in terms of equal access, but this is not enough. There are still barriers there is still discrimination."

One inescapable fact remains: women are still not on a par with men when it really counts—the payroll. In 1986, for every dollar earned by men, women earned an average of 65 cents. In addition, women still point to such fundamental problems as a lack of female representatives at the highest level, on public boards and commissions where policies are formed, and in key decision-making positions in the private sector. As a result, they say, that men do in order to advance in a workplace that for the most part has been structured by and for men. Said Vancouver women's advocate Janet Fraser: "Women are still not accepted as thinkers, decision-makers, team players. I believe that women are still bringing their heads on the glass ceiling, which is the experience of career-directed women who find they come up against an invisible barrier."

By contrast, and had paid \$1,000 in 1976 to obtain the specialized training required for flying "as instruments"—depending entirely on the instruments to fly an airplane with zero visibility. Said Page, "If I had been a man, I would have had the job five or six years ago."

Gained Although Page's achievement is unusual, the obstacles she has faced along the way are common to many women. On the well-polished surface, the public sector and most industries and professional associations appear to have vastly improved women's access to jobs and opportunity for advancement in recent years. But many women say that acceptance and promotion beyond supporting roles is still a struggle. Indeed, many working women continue to face both financial and subtle discrimination. It involves difficult, often subtle, strategies such as

Comments from career women across the country bear Fraser's statement out. Said Dona Bovard, 37, senior vice-president of marketing and human resources at First City Trust in Vancouver: "It is more difficult for women to be socially accepted and integrated into a company when a lot of business is done golfing or on fishing trips." Added Margery Bier, 38, marketing and communications manager for the CBC in Montreal: "There are not the same supports for women as there are for men when they reach senior positions. It is a different relationship—there is no equivalent in an old boys' network. A person can be isolated." And declared Joa Nettie, 50, a Toronto-based stockbroker with the investment firm MacDougall MacDougall & MacTee Inc.: "I

600 km northwest of Montreal. And one year later they founded Lesuire Mining Exploration Inc. Both Nornatal and Louise are gold, zinc and copper prospecting firms that are traded on the Montreal Stock Exchange. Bovine says that she is well-respected by her male employees out in the field, but she complains that mining managers in such situations as out-of-town conferences have sometimes treated her rudely. Said Bovine: "I get comments that I'm a token woman, that I'm a half-baked. They ask if I have any friends in town that they can go out with—like I'm a prop."

Helps But Bovine says that men are going to have to come to terms with the presence—and power—of women in the workplace. Said Bovine: "Equality is not given. It is earned. People want to wait and see if women can do the job well enough."

One woman who decided after 10 years that she had waited too long pursuing her words to male employers is Rosalie (Rosie) Sawtell-Carrie, 42, who owns four auto- and plate-glass stores in Winnipeg. First, from one auto-glass company in 1984 because management said that a woman could not handle windshield and having quit another in 1991 because the head was refused to promote a woman to the position of branch manager. Then, Rosie's Branch and Auto Glass Ltd. in 1992. Now she employs 22 people and annual sales total about \$3 million.

Initiatives Sawtell-Carrie has definitely encouraging the banks to help her get started. When she applied for a loan in 1991, she said, "If I hadn't been for the fact that my husband was dying of cancer and the bank knew there was no more insurance money coming, I would have been in a lot of trouble." Sawtell-Carrie, now 39, says former Jane Robertson says that she was refused a \$100,000 loan by a government lending agency three years ago when she wanted to expand her firm as the Northumberland Strait, St. John's, Newfoundland. The interviewer said, "I don't know why a girl your age is doing this. You must be trying to prove yourself something." Robertson has since been refused two more loans and, as a result, has had to drop her expansion plans.

Women's rights advocates say that there are still many forms of discrimination against women to be overcome in the workplace. But many women have taken difficult initiatives during the past 20 years. And in time, their determination will likely come to serve as an example to a new generation of working women—and help to refocus the perception of many working men.

—ANNE PEACHTHORPE with correspondent reports



Sawtell-Carrie: difficulty convincing the banks to help her get started

still find that in social situations, race talk in me about theatre or children's schools, while across the room they are having a heated conversation about some company."

Taken In order to have opportunities to take initiative and assume responsibility and control, some women have struck out on their own. Said 31-year-old geologist Leanne Bovine: "When I started working in 1986 there were no women in responsible positions in major mining companies, so I decided to start my own." In 1991 she founded Prospect Consulting Inc., a private consulting firm of which Bovine remains the sole owner. And in the fall of 1992—a year after the birth of her second child—and two partners opened Norrest Mining Exploration Inc. in Rouyn-Noranda,

"I believe that women power is just as crucial to the Canadian economy as men power. They can't afford to harbor any blind prejudices anymore." Indeed, Vancouver's Fraser, former director of career development at the University of British Columbia Centre for Continuing Education, says that many students who attended her classes for entrepreneurs were women who had found that they were being held back in corporate structures. According to Fraser, women now own 25 per cent of the small businesses in Canada and are 47 per cent more successful than men in terms of surviving past the first year of operation.

Still, many people in positions of authority in the civil service and in business remain reluctant to encourage

THE LONG WAIT FOR DAY CARE

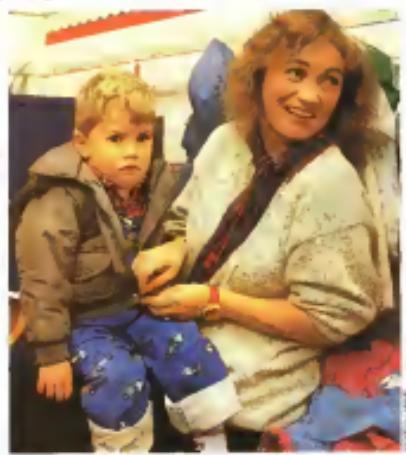
In 1983 Mary-Lou Delesalle, a蒙特利爾 teacher of autistic children, registered her child on a day care waiting list—three months before he was born. But even that was not early enough for her to be able to have young Jason in day care when she wanted to return to work two months after his birth. "They kept telling me, 'You're fourth on the list,' then, 'You're ninth on the list,'" recalled Delesalle, 38. "I was on that list for over a year." Meanwhile, she found "this 85-year-old woman who tended kids in her home" to look after Jason until she was able to place him in a well-run, provincially licensed day care centre two months ago, at the age of 2. Not the search for quality child care has left her frustrated and angry, said Delesalle. "There are so many things wrong with the system that it makes no sense."

Strain: Many working mothers across Canada say that they share Delesalle's feelings. There are about 200,000 registered day care spaces across the country—while an estimated 230 million Canadian children with working parents require unlicensed care from babysitters of varying, mostly unassured skills. And the problem is getting worse. In 1980 and 1986, according to Lynne Westlake, the co-ordinator of the Ottawa-based Canadian Day Care Association, many pregnant women quit their jobs and looked after their children at home for several years before returning to work. But now, she said, more women are choosing to take short leaves of absence instead of quitting their jobs. And as a result, increasing numbers are seeking placement for their infants and young children—and that demand has increased the strain as already overburdened day care centres.

Statistics Canada figures show that in 1986, 84 per cent of women with

children three years of age or younger were in the labor force. By contrast, only 30 per cent of the mothers in a parallel group were in the labor force 10 years ago. Said Westlake: "Suddenly, mothers with children under the age of three are flooding into the workplace."

The growing demand for placement



Delesalle (right), Jason, a growing demand and not enough quality care

has inevitably put pressure on the provincial governments, which are responsible for licensing and regulating day care. But provincial ministers in charge of day care say that they cannot make a move until the federal government announces its funding policy, which it had promised to do by last June. Declared Mervin Hempel, Manitoba's minister for community services: "We get a sense that there is disengagement of the federal level."

Sally Hempel's concerns have some foundation. According to Conservative party strategists, the federal cabinet remains split on the nature and extent of Ottawa's contributions to day care and as such related issues

as the best means of providing additional funds to poorer regions of the country. More than eight months ago federal Health Minister Jake Epp set a deadline of June 30 for enacting Ottawa's plans—but those plans have yet to materialize. Said Epp, in a comment that underscored his party's determination to reach a consensus with the provinces: "We want to do it in the spirit of Meaford Lake."

That still, there are some indications of the day care policy that Ottawa is likely to adopt. Last March the Conservative members on a special all-party parliamentary committee studying child care called for a new, \$700-million-a-year program. The report recommended channelling most of that proposed funding—\$444 million—into tax credits that would provide money for the poorest parents. In addition, the committee proposed modest tax credits—\$300 for the first child, \$300 for the second and \$60 for each additional child—for families where one parent stays home to care for the children. But opposition Liberal and New Democratic members of the committee criticized those proposals, arguing that extra tax

breaks would not solve the most serious child care problem: a shortage of affordable day care spaces.

As federal cabinet ministers debate the issue, provincial officials are growing more impatient. Said John Sweeney, Ontario's minister of community and social services: "There are initiatives we cannot move on without federal support. We cannot be part of any longer." Meanwhile, working parents are experiencing even greater frustration as they desperately search for good, affordable and accessible day care across the land.

—MARK MEYER with MARC CLARK in Ottawa and correspondent reports

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NEW DIMENSIONS IN HOME ENTERTAINMENT

One of feminism's most glamorous leading lights, journalist Gloria Steinem, worked briefly as a "bunny"—complete with camouflaged cleavage and fluffy tail—at a *Playboy* night club in 1962. But Steinem was really working as a journalist—concerned first and foremost whether the so-called philosophy of the high-profile men's magazine was degrading to women. Nine years later Steinem founded her own forum for women's issues—Ms. magazine, which now has almost half-a-million readers—and as observers began to detect a more strident edge in her voice, she had a ready answer: "Women," she commented, "became more radical with age." At 61, Steinem is more outspoken than ever. Recently the diminutive feminist icon with Maclean's correspondent Jennifer Davis.

Maclean's: Do you think we are living in a post-feminist era?

Steinem: No. We have had a few waves of feminism that established a legal identity as citizens for women. That took between 100 and 150 years, depending on how one counts. We are now in the second wave, which seeks legal and social equality, and I would say that by historical precedent we are about 15 or 20 years into it.

Maclean's: Are any differences between Canada and the United States reflected in the current state of feminism?

Steinem: We are having the same trouble. In both of our countries we have majority support for equal or comparable pay, but we don't have equal pay yet. We have majority support for the idea of women in high political office, but women don't occupy 20 percent of the political offices. We have majority support for the idea of shared parenthood, but we don't have the institutional changes to make that possible. On the other hand, your social policy and laws are sometimes more advanced than ours, and our autonomous women's organizations are sometimes stronger. We each could help the other from reinventing the wheel.



Steinem: seeking legal and social equality without reinventing the wheel

A CLOSE WATCH ON FEMINISM

Maclean's: But many women in this country say that they are not feminists.

Steinem: One problem with the word feminist is that people don't know what it means. While it's simple justice that we're talking about, the world operates in such a different way that if you say, for example, "I believe in equal pay for me," that's a feminist reform. It may give you a little shot but not nearly as much as saying you're a feminist—which makes you believe in equal pay for all women.

Maclean's: Women in high schools and universities seem to be becoming more traditional, saying that they want to stay home, taking care of the family, and when they have a career.

Steinem: That's already different from 15 or 20 years ago when they weren't thinking about a career at all. The same women will be more assertive later. They have their dreams, which is step one, and life will realize them soon

enough. It took me 25 years to get over the brainwashing I got in college. Every textbook told me that women didn't do anything, and I believed all that. It's a little better now. If you want to really measure change, you would have to take women 30 and up, because that's the most changed group.

Maclean's: Where do you see the greatest difficulty, the most resistant section of society?

Steinem: It's men. There is no doubt in the world.

Maclean's: But many men do want their wives to work.

Steinem: Yes, but are they willing to cook as much, clean as much, take equal responsibility for the children? Some are, but many are still not doing that. As one man said to me once, "Men want their wives to have a job."

Maclean's: Is it possible for women to assert themselves with men, without being adversarial?

Steinem: Definitely. What I try to do is to treat men the way I would want to be treated. In a strange way, since an equalizing factor culturally, men have been encouraged to go to bed with people they would not have lunch with. Women, on the contrary, have always felt a little bit more endangered by men, both because of pregnancy and potential social pressure. Now, men feel endangered by sex. Men are more cautious.

Maclean's: Where do you see the movement heading in the next 10 to 20 years?

Steinem: First of all, nothing is automatic. This notion of historical forces that take women's lives out of our hands is just another way of making us passive. For instance, the idea that the pill produced the women's movement is total bullshit. Secondly, now that there is at least a critical mass of the population that supports equality, we are ready to make—and are beginning to make—structural changes.

Maclean's: Obviously you are optimistic that, eventually, complete equality will be achieved.

Steinem: Not in my lifetime, but some time.

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EIGHT WHO MADE AN IMPACT

They came from different backgrounds and took different paths to success. Some used politics to achieve power and influence, while others decided that they could get greater results by bypassing the political system. But one common thread runs through them all: They have all been pioneers in the struggle for women's rights.

MADELEINE PARENT

During the 1960s, when she was beginning a career as a labor organizer and union activist, Parent recalls that some of her opponents sang personal remarks at her—on the hope, she said, of breaking her spirit. But Parent, at the time a recent sociology graduate from Montreal's McGill University, and that she remained unfazed by allegations (that she was a prostitute, a lesbian and a Communist). Instead, she persevered toward her goal of improving the conditions of workers—especially women in low-wage industries. To that end, she fought Quebec's textile barons to unionize the industry during the Second World War with considerable success. After the war she and her husband, Kent Rowley, continued to organize workers in low-paying jobs, and the couple often took part in bitter picket line confrontations. Widowed since 1978 and retired for the past four years, Parent, 61, is the Quebec representative on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, which is partly funded by the Secretary of State. Declared Parent: "We have made very important progress in the 1960s and early 1970s in the fight for equality and against discrimination. But I think the greatest long-term accomplishment has been the changing of attitudes toward women."

MURIEL SMITH

The deputy premier of Manitoba argues that simply "growing up female" provided sufficient reason to spark her interest in feminism. She added that she identified with the 1961 book *The Feminine Mystique* by U.S. author Betty Friedan and that it increased her awareness of feminist issues. In 1981 the former high-school counselor first entered the provincial legislature as a New Democratic Party member representing a Winnipeg riding. Since then, she has been deputy premier in Premier Howard Pawley's six-year-old NDP administration and now serves as labor and housing minister as well as minister responsible for the status of women.



Anderson: controversial subjects and sales of almost one million

While minister of community services, Smith, 51, actively supported the government's pay equity bill, which the legislature passed in 1985. Under that act, Manitoba became the first province to ensure equal pay for female public servants who performed work of the same value as services provided by a man in a different job. Declared Smith: "Pay equity is a major accomplishment. If lots of us had not been talking about this for 15 years, it never would have come about."

DORIS ANDERSON

Growing up in Calgary during the Depression, Anderson, 51, says, made her acutely aware of the bleak options available to women. In 1963 Anderson landed a job as advertising/editorial co-ordinator for the advertising department of Maclean-Hunter's *Challenge* magazine. Six years later, after working her way through the ranks, she became the magazine's editor, a position that she held for 20 years. During that time Anderson transformed the magazine, instead of concentrating exclusively on recipes and beauty tips, she regularly commissioned articles on such controversial subjects as abortion. And during her tenure she saw the monthly magazine's subscription and newsstand sales grow from 255,000 to almost one million. Anderson, 51, now writes a weekly column on women's issues for *The Toronto Star*. She said that while there has been some progress toward true equality for women, "it's depressing to read the writings of prominent pre-First World War women and find

When Miguel played it made me feel like a million miles away.
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COVER

set they were talking about the same things we're talking about today."

PATRICIA COOPER

In 1979 the Supreme Court of Canada refused to grant an Alberta divorcee, Irene Marlech, a share of the family farm that she had helped develop during her 25-year marriage. That decision outraged Patricia Cooper, and, she said, prompted her to begin fighting for women's rights. Declared Cooper, a Winnipeg schoolteacher at the time: "I grew up with the assumption that laws treated men and women equally." Among her recent achievements, she helped found the Alberta Coalition Against Pornography in 1984. And a year later she played a prominent role in the creation of the Legal Education Action Fund—an influential women's legal advocacy group that operates across the country. Now western vice-president of the Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women, Cooper, 41, said that she believes the women's movement is still strong. Declared Cooper: "Some people say we've reached a plateau. But with social action, it's not so much in the agenda as women move into decision-making positions."



Shown: the women's struggle for equality will succeed—eventually

movement seems painfully slow. "I think that economically we are still very much behind, but there have been tremendous changes in consciousness since the 1960s."

ROSEMARY BROWN

Brown, 57, says that she is keenly aware that she now serves as a role model for many women considering a career in politics. Still, it was not until the late 1960s—more than 30 years after she had moved to Canada from her native Jamaica to study social work at Montreal's McGill University—that Brown became involved in the women's movement. After McGill, she moved to Vancouver to take her master's degree in social work at the University of British Columbia. In 1972, when B.C. voters elected the province's first NDP government, she went to Victoria as an MLA representing a central Vancouver riding.

Though she remained a backbencher, Brown was a prominent figure in Premier David Barrett's government. The NDP lost

power in 1975, but she retained her seat and in two subsequent elections before returning from provincial politics last year. Brown is currently teaching women's studies at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., and she says that she has great faith that women's struggle for equality will succeed—eventually. Declared Brown: "We are attacking hierarchical structures and patriarchy. It's not something that can be changed overnight—or even in one generation."

LOUISE DULIDE

Born in Lachine, Que., 26 km from Montreal, Dulide, 42, says that a middle-class childhood spent in a small town shielded her from the knowledge that many women lived in poverty. But by 1974 Dulide had become a lawyer, and her work as the director of a legal centre in Montreal's east end had, she says, made her sharply aware of the discrimination faced by disadvantaged women. Last year she became the first female president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. And now, says Dulide, fighting for women's rights takes up most of her time. To that end, she says that she is prepared to use the aggressive style that has become her trademark in order to focus attention on women's issues. According to Dulide, this will mean forcing more pressure to bear on governments. In a male-dominated society, declared Dulide, "I have always believed that if there were social inequalities, it was the responsibility of the state to step in."

ALEXA McDONOUGH

The 48-year-old leader of Nova Scotia's NDP acknowledges that her involvement in feminism is relatively recent. During the 1970s McDougall said that she was busy striving to be a supermother—raising her two children and juggling a career as a social worker. As an NDP candidate, McDougall failed to win a Halifax riding in federal elections that were held in 1979 and 1981. But she was successful in the provincial riding of Halifax-Chebucto in 1981 and at the time was the only female member in the legislature. Now she leads a three-woman contingent in the 52-member house—and one of her principal goals in politics is to encourage more women to run for office.

—NORIA UNDERWOOD with DAVID TRODD in Toronto and correspondents' reports

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Dulide: representative

MICHELE LANDSENBORG

Last year former Senator Shirley Night magazine editor Robert Fathor described Michele Landsenborg as "one of the most eloquent feminist journalists in Canada." Married to former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis, the Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, and mother of two girls and a boy—they range in age between 17 and 28—48-year-old Landsenborg recalled her childhood realization that society placed limits on girls' aspirations. Declared Landsenborg: "I grew up in a world in which I was a second-class person because I was female." After her graduation in 1962 from the University of Toronto, Landsenborg began writing for the Toronto Globe and Mail,

That empty feeling

The Winnipeg Blue Bombers had a convert featuring the rock group Mana Sound Machine. The Saskatchewan Roughriders staged professional wrestling matches at the 50-yard line and raised money from book sales organized by players' wives. Officials of the Edmonton Eskimos asked players to take a 10-per-cent pay cut—and matched it with salary cuts for executives. In fact, with revenues down in virtually every Canadian Football League city, the 35-year-old league faced a severe crisis. The urgency of the situation was underscored last week, as player representatives from the league's eight teams met in an emergency session in Calgary. Said George Reed, president of the CFL Players' Association: "The players are willing to take any steps that have to be taken to ensure the viability of the CFL."

They have little alternative. Before the season even begins, the Montreal Alouettes failed to land further financial rewards. And virtually every remaining team, says Eskimos general

manager Hugh Campbell, will soon meet the same fate. In addition to declining box office and television revenues, the league has been plagued by almost weekly controversies, including the general quality of the game, pay rates for players and even the salary and benefits of CFL commissioner Doug Mitchell—\$175,000 a year and a \$100,000 interest-free loan. Said Toronto Argonauts general manager Leo Cudlif: "We've got to find a way to capture people's imagination again. People don't want to be associated with something that looks like it's in trouble."

Trouble is an understatement. The sharpest declines are occurring in what were the league's most secure franchises, Edmonton and Vancouver. In Ottawa, the Rough Riders are merging, losing less than \$5,000 per game, the

team needs almost \$8,000 to break even. Observers say that a miracle will be necessary to save the franchise. In British Columbia, the Lions have asked the provincial government for a \$3-million loan. In Hamilton, the defending Grey Cup champion Tiger-Cats are drawing less than 17,000 per game—in a 59,186-seat stadium. Said CFL spokesman John Labont: "Our number 1 concern is that every team enters 1988 with a workable operating budget. Until we get our house in order, everything else is irrelevant."

Indeed, the league this year placed a \$12-million salary cap on player payrolls, which meant that the average salary was \$60,000 for the 16-game regular season. It also required teams to give marketing clubs a 49-per-cent share of home box office receipts—for a more equitable spread of league income. Next year, owners will face even more restrictions, when a \$3-million limit on what the league calls competition budgets—player salaries, training camp and operating costs—takes effect. Said



Mitchell annual

Mitchell: "We are back to where the CFL should have been in terms of realistic budgeting."

But the enhanced fragility and profit sharing clearly fails to inform the CFL's financial condition, declining interest. Since 1981, when average attendance per game reached 38,473, fan support has dropped by almost 20 per cent. Last year average attendance sank to 35,383. David Gordon Craig, president of cable television's The Sports Network (TSN), "We've broadcast games in Toronto this year where the announced attendance was 30,000. If there were 32,000 people in the stands, they were counting double."

Poor attendance has cost the league more than \$10 million. In 1984, in return for \$11 million annually, Carling O'Keefe was a three-year contract for the rights to broadcast games. But when the contract expired last season, the CFL was unable to renew the deal or find an alternative sponsor. As a result, the CFL formed its own production agency, the Canadian Football Network, and marketed its games through a chain of independent



Calgary against Hamilton: declining interest

stations, as well as TSN and the CBC. But under the new arrangement, broadcast revenues for each tour are only expected to reach \$300,000 for the season, compared to \$1.2 million last year. Said

John Bennett, director of development for Carling O'Keefe: "As an advertising vehicle, the CFL's value is diminishing. The league is not getting enough traction in the 15-to-30 age bracket. That does not bode well for the future."

As compensation, Mitchell, a Calgary lawyer, has become a focal point for derision. He has been popularly dubbed the "empty suit." The Ottawa Citizen disclosed details of his three-year agreement with the league. But critics say that the league faces other problems: television competition from higher quality NFL football, a high turnover of personnel, which diminishes fan loyalty, unfavorable scheduling of televised games, and, with average seat prices of \$15, increased competition for the entertainment dollar. Said former Montreal Alouettes defensive back Bruce Coulter, now head football coach at Bishop's University in Lennoxville, Que.: "I watch the CFL and have seen some dismal games. But normally, there are plenty of alternative activities to paying \$15 to sit and drink beer for three hours."

Added veteran Hamilton defensive back Paul Bennett: "I'm glad I'm near the end of my career. I don't know if I could take much more of this."

—DAN MURKIN/Montreal with DALE BISLER in Calgary



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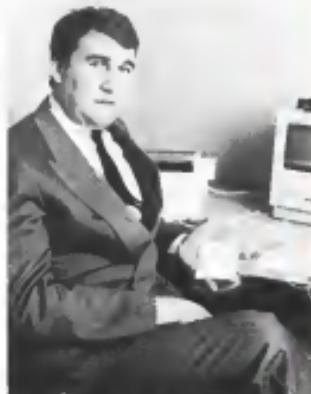
HEALTH

A battle over blood

Each summer the Canadian Red Cross enlists a company for extra volunteer blood donors as the seasonal increase in the number of accidents drains its supply. But this fall Red Cross officials say that they have a new cause for concern about dwindling stocks. The first private Canadian blood bank is due to open in Montreal this month. The Red Cross is questioning the necessity of the operation, and many doctors say that it will simply compete with existing free and voluntary blood donor programs. But the new company is breaking no laws. Indeed, there are no federal regulations governing the private handling and storage of blood, and health officials say that the legislation that is being prepared for such operations will not be ready for several months.

For his part, Marc Pagan, a former vice-president of a pharmaceutical company and president of Autologous Systems Inc., which he formed to open the blood bank, maintains that his company will provide a valuable service to people who want to have a reliable supply of blood available for elective surgery. He said that his company will charge individuals \$25 to \$100 to refrigerate one unit—half a litre—of their blood for up to 40 days. Longer-term storage, which requires freezing, will cost as much as \$200 per unit, and Pagan maintained that frozen blood supplies could be stored for as long as ten years and still remain usable.

But some doctors argue that blood banking is not only expensive but an ethical problem as well. Dr. Gwynn Jason, director of the Ottawa Civic Hospital's blood bank, "The well-abiding the sick. Blood donation is one of the few occasions to be altruistic in life." Other public health officials say that the new company is merely trying to capitalize on widespread concern about contracting acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) from blood transfusions. Indeed, the Red Cross has been screening its blood supplies for the presence of AIDS for the past two years. Declared Dr. Alainne Clapton, director general of the Ottawa-based Federal Centre for AIDS: "People just



REUTERS

Pagan's a commercial blood bank raises ethical questions

aren't informed. The chance of getting AIDS from a transfusion is one in 14,000."

Until the new legislation is ready, Dr. David Page, assistant director of Health and Welfare Canada's Bureau of Biologics, which is responsible for licensing production of drugs of biological origin, said that the blood bank will be controlled under the federal Food and Drugs Act. That will ensure that it meets government standards for clean laboratories and properly maintained equipment. And despite the controversy the new venture has generated, Pagan has not altered his plan to open for business—and he said that he remains convinced that he will find a ready market for his service.

—LESA VAN DUSEN in Montreal

A WINNING ATTITUDE.



WOOD
GUNDY

Investment
Professionals



Basil Rathbone (left), Langella as Holmes: Standing At the power of the intellect to tame the forces of chaos

PUBLISHING

The enduring cult of Sherlock Holmes

When Arthur Conan Doyle's sold his first novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, to London's *Illustrated London News*—and distinguished London journalist—he scarcely intended to create a cultural icon. In 1887 he was simply a young physician with vague literary aspirations trying to occupy his available spare time and, perhaps, supplement his meager income by writing mystery stories. A century later the hero of that story, master detective Sherlock Holmes, is among the world's best-known fictional characters. His trademark pipe and deerstalker cap remain as easily recognizable as the image of Queen Victoria herself. Indeed, for the legion of devotees around the world who have come to know the great reasoning machine through his exploits—in books, plays, movies and TV adaptations—Holmes has taken on the reality of flesh and blood.

This year devout *Sherlockians* in North America and Europe are marking the centennial of Holmes's debut in a suitably dignified fashion, with commemorative dinners, workshops and tours. In April members of the Sherlock Holmes Society of London made a pilgrimage to Switzerland's *Reichenbach Falls* where, in *The Final Problem*, the

detective apparently perished. And next month the *Metro Toronto Public Library*, which boasts one of the world's most extensive collections of *Sherlockiana*, will mark the centennial with an exhibition tracing the history of crime fiction from Doyle's detective to the modern private eye.

Meanwhile, at least half a dozen new books on Holmes and Doyle have reached Canadian bookstores this year, ranging from Peter Elling's *The Television Sleuth Book* (Cassell Books, \$35.95), which explores the detective's many TV incarnations, to *Sherlock Holmes' London Crime Coast Books* (\$25.95), a photographic tour of the city that gave Doyle the backdrop for his stories. Said J. D. Bright, owner of Toronto's Smith of Baker Street bookstore: "Sherlockians are almost as bad in their appetites for Doyle material."

But Holmes's appeal clearly extends beyond the printed page. This year North American theatre audiences helped turn plays based on Doyle's cre-

ation into box-office hits. On Broadway, actor Frank Langella (of *Hamlet*) has won critical acclaim for his portrayal of the detective in Charles Marowitz's play *Sherlock's Last Chair*; in Halifax, the Neptune Theatre opened its current season with a production of Dennis Kelly's *Sherlock Holmes and the Curse of the Sign of Four*—a work based on one of Doyle's stories.

The most dedicated followers of Holmes and his gallant companion and character, Dr. John H. Watson, actively seek each other out to share their enthusiasm. There are an estimated 180 *Sherlockian* societies around the world. Canada alone has groups in St. John's, Newfoundland, Winnipeg, Montreal and Halifax. But the nucleus for much of the activity is the 250-member Booksellers of Toronto Society, which has been convening since 1972 to exchange news and opinions, perform skits, and test one another on knowledge of *Sherlockiana*. Said Maureen Green, the group's treasurer



Arthur Conan Doyle

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Show Your Stripes!



Tia Maria
THE ADVENTURE BEGINS

WIT) get a group of people together and it's always IEEE. There are enough names and eons in the world, this is just pure fun." The group's name refers to the sole reference to Toronto in the fables stories—a boot bearing the stamp of its Toronto manufacturer, which provides a vital clue to the mystery of *The House of the Seven Gables*.

The group that later became the bookmakers first got together in 1971 at a Sherlock Holmes weekend sponsored by the Metropolitan Toronto Library to mark the opening of its Arthur Conan Doyle Collection. The Conan Doyle

at Holmes and Watson were real and Boyle merely the literary who arranged for the publication of the *Casey's case* studies in 1864. Christopher Morley, co-founder of the *Emersonian* Society of Emersonian scholars, was one of America's earliest literary societies. The *Baker Street* (1930), as a polite fiction for Boyle's sake, is partly an excuse to have a few drinks with more friends of the RSI appreciated the story of the *Casey's case* with a mock seriousness in parody the solemnity of literary criticism. They deserved

ular culture as a legitimate subject of academic study, many Halipes have transgressed the commandment of the game, treating the stories as the stuff of an author's doll.

Christopher Bedford, a Waterford, *Shropshire*, was seeking for him a book, *Is Fred With Shropshire*, which examines the sequence of wavy stages—an attempt to concentrate how Victorian masses, as well as aspects of Doyle's own troubled life, came to bear upon the writing of the *Canary*. Although Doyle fell in love with a woman named Jean Leslie, he remained faithful to his wife, Louise, and nursed her through a protracted battle with tuberculosis until her death in 1896. Interestingly, the plots of several Holmes stories from this period revolve around love triangles: *Blad-Rodmond*, "Very little of a serious nature has been written about Doyle. Yet he was a complex and highly creative man."

Day, who later married Lester, was an avid sportman, an impassioned defender of interests of the law and, in his later years, a staunch believer in spiritualism. Clearly, the doctor, cerebral Helens and the hearty, romantic Watson were reflections of the author's own personality and character. Still, over the years, Doyle's dislike for Helens grew. The author believed the character's popularity had rubbed him of recognition for his more serious literary efforts, including his historical novels and his *Problem*, in his 1890 story, "The Problem," Doyle angles his thinking to kill off Watson, sending him tumbling over the backless sofa, locked in a deadly struggle with the man he called "the dog of crime." *Problem* is one of Doyle's few serious efforts of which dimmed Watson's blinding hands after Helens's apparent death—finally overwhelmed Doyle. A decade later he grudgingly resurrected his detective.

times now seems intobustible, and forever to stalk the foggy, gaunt streets of Victoria's London. He stands at his side. To those generations who have grown up with him, Jack Holmes is a symbol symbolized by reason, order and the power of the intellect to tame the beasts of chance. Sad Bonham's treasurer. "He rides to the rescue of men and peoples alike and more and more has taken the law into his hands to do what is right. He is our knight in shining armor."

son contains hundreds of different strains of the SG short stories and four novellas featuring Holmes that Doyle wrote between 1887 and 1927, works known to true Sherlocks as 'the canon'.

The collection also features volumes of the author's other works, Sherlockian criticism and pastiches by later authors, historical magazines, illustrations, and items that would have been at home in Holmes's sitting room at 221B. Baker Street. In London, one table holds a small Persian slipper, a copy of the original Holmes manuscript, and a glass of water. Another wealth of Holmes's creative brain. Said librarian Frances Holley, who oversees the collection, "Sherlock Holmes is primarily a literary character, and for entertainment, the Conan Doyle room is devoted to a collection that exists for itself. It's self-sufficient."

The sheer pleasure of tongue-in-cheek banter has always been the overriding goal of *Sherlockians*. Practitioners can call it "the game" or the "higher culture" and work from the assump-



Miller in the 1998 *Contour Death Report*, with a brief summary on whom Miller is to receive funds.



Long celebrating her 20th birthday, a cake for the new queen of country

PEOPLE: THE JUNO AWARDS

The stars of music

It was a night to celebrate the familiar, the semi-famous, the unknown and the almost forgotten. Appearing by turns glamorous and goofy, Canada's top pop musicians paraded onto Toronto's O'Keefe Centre stage to accept their Juno Awards. Telecast live on the CBC network on Nov. 2, the Canadian music industry's annual award show saw the return of many former winners—along with last year's host, Toronto native **newspaperman** **Martin** (now **De-Wolfe**) **Frisco** on the **TV** **show** **Elbowroom**. Stand-up comedy's newest to break out of the basement—**Montreal** kept the show moving. —**John** **Levit** **hosted** a strip-tease ending, a demonstration of synchronized swimming in a shark's wading pool. Another highlight was popular **Montreal**-born singer **Gino Vannelli**'s polished rendition of his hit **"Wild Horses"** (his debut on television).

But overall, the Junos lacked the excitement and glamour of previous shows. Vancouver rock star **Bryan Adams**, coming only as a European tour, was far there to pick up his two Juno—top male vocalist and the newly created people's choice award for Canadian entertainer of the year. And the only non-Canadian celebrity onstage was British pop diva **Scenes from a Fox**—a hand presenter after appearances by **Tina Turner** and **Bob Dylan** in the past two years.



Lulu: "No rock star"

It's a man who is not unlike a tree," she said. "A legend, who is strong and completely original."

However, as the Junos honored one of Canadian rock's standout legends, the sound of shattering glass seemed drowned out by the applause. Minutes after the members of the Guess Who—**Merle Cummings, Randy Bachman, Jim Keays and Gary Peterson**—strafed onstage to pick up their Hall of Fame award, a TV commercial cut in before they could even say "Thank you." Backstage, Cummings angrily told the media, "It was pretty obvious with a capital C it stinks." Said a sheepish **Peter Steinmetz**, president of the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences: "It was just an error—everybody screws up." And two days later the CBC offered to right the wrong by making and airing a half-hour TV documentary about the former group from Winnipeg.

One lesson learned is that a Juno can be worth its weight in regrub. **Lee Tyson**, 34, was named top male country singer almost two decades after his career's peak. And Cape Breton singer **Nita MacNeil**, 44, a 17-year music business veteran, was pronounced "most promising female vocalist."

Although the Junos honor Canadian talent, they serve a pop music industry that thrives on American recognition. Several Juno winners who have scored international success—including soft-spoken producer **Daniel Lanois** (U2, **Peter Gabriel**) and garage-rock manager **Bruce Alice** (Bryan Adams, Loverboy)—criticized government measures that protect the Canadian music industry. Lanois, looking coolly smirky under a black bowler, and chat radio 88.1-percent **Canadian** contest queen Linda macquade borisian, "If U.S. didn't have it, we'd still have it," said Lanois. "People would be forced to broaden their horizons." But Canada's skeptical airwaves have nurtured some durable talents, including **Kim Mitchell**, whose **Shake, Rattle & Roll** **Blowin' in the Wind** was voted album of the year. "America's not the all-and-end-all," said Mitchell. "Look what I am writing here." Hitting the awards night as his industry's "annual convention," Mitchell put the Junos into perspective—as a pop party where Canadian musicians can step out—and step up.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON with BETTY ATRELL ET AL TORONTO

David Foster



"If you've always wished you could play the piano, a Yamaha Clavinova is just what you've been looking for."

YAMAHA
Clavinova

THE DIGITAL PIANO.



GALTEN: Miss Canada ambitions

The new Miss Canada, **Melissa Galt**, 22, has survivor status not usually associated with beauty pageant winners. The London, Ont., social work student says that she wants "to become Ontario's minister of community and social services." And she says that the public-relief accompanying her youthful reign will give her "the chance to become well-known." Still, she has no plans yet to join a political party. Like a born politician, she said, "It's a decision I would consider very carefully." Clearly, **Premier David Peterson**, opposite, leader **Bob Rae** and the future **Ontario** They leader have a welcome recruiting job in store.

First **Karen Marinelli** was a star in the National Football League. Then he became a TV star as Officer Joe Coffey on **Sting Street**. Now he is starring in a romance video, *For Emerald Than*, the latest installment in the *Shades of Love* movies for the TV and the home video market being made in Montreal.

Marinelli, 31, portrays a reclusive millionaire haunted by a reporter played by **Leah Pinsent**, daughter of actor **Gordon Pinsent**. When the New Jersey native turns from football to acting, he abandoned hotel management, which he studied at Cornell University. Said Marinelli: "I was 22, making lots of money and there were pretty women around all the time. After that, the total business just didn't cut it."



—YVONNE DIX with correspondent reports

helps writers in prison, and the Writers' Development Trust, a Canadian foundation for writers—Alwood serves as president and food-related literary fare from Canadian writers including **Pierre Bergeron**, **Alice Munro** and **Robertson Davies**. Readers should take some of the writing with a grain of salt, included in an entire chapter on cannibals. As to why she consumed a bad book, Alwood, 47, said, "I could have done well, but then it would be less likely that Aunt Mollie would give it to her nephew for Christmas."

During their state visit to West Germany last week, **Charles and Diana, the Prince and Princess of Wales**, spent two days of the British press. The Fleet Street about-face came after a month of heated speculation about a rift in the royal marriage. After the Prince and Princess returned together to West Berlin, British papers ran stories such as "Happy D's Are Here Again" and "Merry Christmas, London." **Susan Goodard**, *Editor of Britain's Press*, a weekly publication of the British Association of Journalists, confirmed that the tabloids still hunger for royal scandal. **Sarah Goddard**: "As soon as they put one foot out of the plane, the papers will be back on it."

First **Karen Marinelli** was a star in the National Football League. Then he became a TV star as Officer Joe Coffey on **Sting Street**. Now he is starring in a romance video, *For Emerald Than*, the latest installment in the *Shades of Love* movies for the TV and the home video market being made in Montreal.

The voters of Westmount, Que., have chosen a new mayor in an election result that is being widely viewed as a slap in the face to a former resident, Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney**. After 12 years on municipal council, including four years in the mayor's job, **Brian Mulroney**, 51, a well-known Mulroney friend, lost the Nov. 8 election to the wealthy Montreal suburb to book publisher **May Cutler**, 54. Cutler worked actively for Mulroney during the 1989 Tory leadership race when the future prime minister lived nearby. Said Cutler, 53, who was unable to carry even his own street: "I don't think my losing had anything to do with my association with Mr. Mulroney. He is doing a good job, and I'm proud to be his friend."



Charles and Diana: Happy D's are here again!

Metropolitan Toronto Police Sgt. **M. G. E. (Charlie) Keele** is not your average cop. He is a leading authority on ethnic Chinese organized crime, has an MA in international relations from the University of Waterloo and speaks six languages. And now the Netherlands-born Keele is preventing his first novel, *The Glorious East Wind*, a tale of international intrigue set in Hong Kong. Still, Keele, 37, who began his police career with a two-year stint in the Royal Hong Kong Police in 1974, said, "I'm a policeman first." He adds, "Police work is as honorable

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ARCHEOLOGY

New routes to the past

During the past decade many archaeologists have turned to space-age technology to help them unlock the secrets of the past. In 1984, US researchers used information relayed from satellites to locate two Mayan cities that had been hidden in the jungles of southern Mexico. And on the outskirts of Cuzco last month, archeologists and a team of experts used a slow-turning carbide-tipped drill to gain access to an ancient burial chamber. On Oct. 26, after two days of drilling, the researchers broke through one of the 60-cm-thick limestone slabs that covered a pit near the southern face of the Great Pyramid of Cholula. They inserted a television video and still cameras along with a slender light transmission through a half-216-metre diameter. And by electronic picture linkage from the interior of the chamber, they gained upon a cedar boat that seems archaeologists say had been placed there 4,000 years ago to carry a dead pharaoh's soul to the afterworld.

While the cameras scanned the dimly lit chamber, some team members hopped each other as a nearby television monitor showed piles of wood—the disassembled boat—and ancient inscriptions that workers had carved into the wall. And the scientists noted that the new methods they had used to investigate the site—including a radar scan to determine the best point of entry—helped ensure that the tomb would be protected from exposure to light, outside pollutants and temperature changes. But despite these precautions, some of the

researchers said that they doubted they would achieve one of their primary objectives—analyzing air that had remained unchanged for centuries. The Washington, D.C.-based National Geographic Society had financed the \$650,000 project in the hope of studying the composition of the atmosphere long before burning fossil fuels became widespread.

In pursuit of that goal, researchers surrounded the drill with a vacuum chamber to prevent outside air from rushing into the chamber. Then, they carefully pumped out air samples from within the pit or later analysis by the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Boulder, Colo. Bill Parker, the physicist who supervised the air extraction, said that he believed that the air present in the chamber at the time of Cholula's burial had long since seeped through the 41 porous limestone slabs that served as its covering. Deafened Tora, who could not resist sniffing air that he later described as almost odorless, "We now know that this pit looks like hell."

In any event, researchers say that they will release the analysis of the resealed pit's atmosphere at a three-day conference in Cairo next month. And meanwhile, team members say that they have already achieved an important goal—demonstrating how to explore the past without damaging it in the process.

—MALCOLM GRAY with CAROL BERGER in Cuzco



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Sirens on Queen Street

THE WALKING
Jane Sherry
(Dixie Street/CMA)

Singer-songwriter Jane Sherry is one of a kind: the adventurous streak in her produces some acute poetic observations and melodic inventiveness. At her worst,

when fragile schoolgirl whimsy dominates, she can be painfully precious. But when her experimental excesses, they yield fresh, fanciful, pop music that gives new life to the airwaves. Her fourth album, *The Walking*, is her most ambitious so far, filled with imaginative drollings and abstract dreamscapes that

assume, challenge and confound. One song, "The White Teat, the Red," conjures an odd combination of images flitting down a river. In another, "Memory Land" and the *Postman*, the man asks a woman to let him be her "one-owee." She replies, "What does this make me? I see ... then I'll be the Indian." But more obscure songs such as "The Bird in the Ground"—which uses depicted dialogue and recorded bird noises—demand a patience that is not rewarded. Still, Sherry is a daring musical explorer who often makes the journey worthwhile.

ALITA MOEDA
Alita Moeda
(Curren/CBS)

She has been called the diva of Toronto's Queen Street scene. And Molly Johnson has earned the title, whether she is whistling the sultry jazz of Billie Holiday or belting out her own hard-edged funk. Alita Moeda, her first album with her band of the same name, showcases Johnson's taste for gritty dance music. There, the opening song, starts out full-blown with thumping rhythms, ring guitars and a chunky bass. Johnson's clipped, snarling phrasing is the album's highlight, especially on "Rock in Rock." But the often staid lyrics and a shiny pop approach make Alita Moeda sound like just another Top 40 band. At times Johnson's singing even resembles Madonna's bright, bouncy style. While the album offers some of the most potent Canadian dance rhythms ever, it suffers from weak material and glossy production—and given a formulaic pop strip a disappointing debut.

MOAVERICK HEART
Sherry Keen
(4440)

As the lead singer in the early-1980s Toronto band The Sharks, Sherry Keen made her mark with a tough, edgy vocal style. But after winning the 1984 Juno Award for most promising female vocalist for her debut album *People Talk*, she retired briefly to re-evaluate her career and to spend more time with her family. Keen's long-awaited follow-up recording, *Maverick Heart*, is a work of talent and resilience. Brimming with fresh sounds, the album finds Keen and her guitar-bent band, David Barker, returning to a sparse, roots-rock style. From the forceful opening of "Whip You Down" to the moving version of Bob Dylan's "I Believe in You," Keen's throaty vocals and acoustic instruments add vivid color. And when she sings "Paul the pining in my soul" on "Take My Heart," she carries deep conviction. Her album is worth the wait: a mature work of unrelied passion.

—MICHAEL JENNINGS



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Schools for all seasons

For more than a decade Los Angeles has been one of the few models for a widely discussed idea in education: keeping elementary and secondary schools open year-round. Advocates of 18-month schools say that they alleviate classroom crowding, make more efficient use of existing facilities and save money on new construction. Because of such considerations, several schools in greater Los Angeles have adopted year-round calendars, with shorter breaks scattered throughout the year, replacing the traditional summer vacation. But a recent move on the part of the local school board to make the system mandatory throughout the area has sparked a furor, debate and forced the board to reconsider its decision.

But in California, with its pleasant year-round climate and transcribing sports, educators are more willing to depart from tradition. And because the state attracts thousands of new residents each year, many with young families, the schools are also faced with the challenge of accommodating the area's rapidly expanding school population, which the board estimated would grow at a rate of 14,000 a year in the next few years. That would require as many as 120 new schools to be built annually at a cost of at least \$100 million. Board president Rita Walters, who supports the

year-round system, says, "We have in-

cluded all 618 schools and 300,000 students on a year-round schedule beginning in July, 1986. But a week later, because of strong objections from parents, the board voted to recommend the year-round and to vote again in five months.

Despite the perceived advantages of year-round systems, they have in-

creased appeal in many elementary and secondary school systems. Most countries in the northern hemisphere have school years that begin in September and go through to June—and that is fine, but it is finely entrenched. Crawford Elkan, education columnist for the Vancouver Province, said that in Canada "we are stuck in an agrarian pattern that goes back to a time when the kids were needed to bring in the crops." For his part, William Kirkwood, executive assistant to the deputy minister of education in Ontario, said that although local school boards are free to begin the school year whenever they wish, to his knowledge no board has ever departed from the norm.

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Walters, under a year-round school calendar, the market forces will adjust'

plan, said that although the board would still have to build more schools under a year-round system, if it went into effect as scheduled, in some existing schools "we could house 20 to 30 per cent more students."

The plan would implement two different systems—multi-track and single-track—both of which currently operate in year-round schools. Under the multi-track system, designed for areas where overcrowding is most se-

vere, students are randomly divided into four groups and, at any given time, three of those groups attend school while the fourth is at home. Under the single-track system, all students in a school follow the same year-round schedule. When board officials announced their decision to extend year-round schooling district-wide, they had not worked out the details of the calendar. But the board was considering cycles con-

sisting of 45 weekdays of classes followed by three weeks of vacation, as well as cycles of 60 school days and 30 days of vacation, and 80 school days and 30 days of vacation. Under the option most favored by elementary schools, students would have one-month vacations in August, December and April.

The notion of year-round schooling has been the subject of public debate for several years, with Los Angeles-area parents eagerly crowding into hearings on the issue. Although many parents complained about the difficulty of co-ordinating family vacations with the new school year, working parents were particularly concerned that the out-of-school facilities at the now demanded day care centres and summer camps—do not operate on a year-round basis. Last year the board wanted to convert Franklin Avenue Elementary, a traditional school in Los Angeles, to a year-round system and bring in 10 more students. But Maril Bialas, whose two children attend Franklin, joined the protest, and officials shelved the plan. Edlan says that such a system "would be almost impossible" for single parents like herself. She adds, "The families for child care are just not there."

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heavily debated on both sides. Parents and educators who are in favor of year-round systems say that short breaks make for better learning. Said Chester Finn, chief of research for the Washington-based U.S. Department of Education: "This forgets a lot if they don't have to think a thought or read a book for 8½ months." For her part, Suzanne Hoffman, principal of Lassau Elementary School in the San Fernando Valley, which adopted a year-round system in 1974, claims that her school's single-track system, with 45 school days alternating with 15 weeks of vacation, benefits both teachers and students. Hoffman, who came to the school in 1981 after 28 years in traditional schools, says that short and frequent breaks promote better teacher attendance and result in less "forgetting." And she pointed out that review time for students, which in traditional schools often continues "well into October" after a long summer break, is lessened. She said that her daughter, who attends a traditional school, "forgot her first lessons over the summer"—a relatively common occurrence with a year-round schedule.

On the other side, a leader of a Los Angeles-based opposition group called CSD (Concerns for Students), said that too many breaks detract from students' ability to concentrate on serious subjects, "especially in the upper grades with algebra and geometry." And some parents say that because year-round schools offer few extracurricular activities, children lose something constructive to do during their mini-vacations. Said Bialan, who plays the piano for a music teacher at a local school on a multi-track system: "For three weeks the kids sit around at home and watch television."

Rita Walters acknowledges that the board's plan "does involve far-reaching change—and change is difficult to accept." She also conceded that the lack of year-round recreational facilities and day care centres is a persistent problem. But she added that such drawbacks are temporary. Said Walters: "The market forces will adjust themselves—and that is one of the advantages of putting the whole district on the system." Indeed, with year-round systems already in place, that factor may give the plan the momentum it needs for district-wide implementation. Still, it is clear that, even in trendsetting California, some transitions lie ahead.

—MARY McIVER with ANNIE GLEEDON in Los Angeles, TRUDIEKA SCHIFF in Vancouver and ROBERT JABATEK in Toronto



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Marilyn Monroe and Capote in 1958: celebrities and a bisexual hustler

BOOKS

Lives of the very rich

ANSWERED PRAYERS
THE UNFINISHED NOVEL
By Truman Capote
(Random House, 486 pages, \$12.50)

TRUMAN CAPOTE'S *Answered Prayers*, a portrait of perfidy, is also a sobering illustration of the perils of avarice. American-style *Quo Vadis* is his preface; he writes, "More tears are shed over uninvited guests than over quashed omelets." The discredited Capote, who died of liver disease in 1984 at 58, set out to write the definitive novel about the lives of the very rich on the American east coast and in Western Range in the mid of a personal and creative crisis, he produced only three chapters. There are rumors that another four are in existence, but nobody has yet determined their whereabouts. The fragments that remain are an eloquent testimony to what too many television talk-show appearances, as well as the trite and vicious views of money, sex, drink and drugs, can do to a single writing talent.

Although many of Capote's literary strengths, including his acute observation of drama and decor, are evident in *Answered Prayers*, the book consists mainly of assaying torn celebrities and avaricious tycoons, including Gloria Vanderbilt, Cole Porter and Jackie Kennedy, appear in glistening profusion. The fifth chapter, "Unapologetic Hustlers," describes the misadventures of a struggling writer and bisexual hustler named P.B.

—NORMAN KNIDER

A garden of adult verse

THE DIFFICULTY OF LIVING
ON OTHER PLANETS
By Denise Lee
(McMillan of Canada,
128 pages, \$12.50)

Readers of Denise Lee's more serious poetry have been waiting eight years for a book to match *The Gods*, her last collection for adults. But, increasingly, the poetic gift that crafted the passionate, sensuous fervor of that and earlier books is looking like a spent flame. *More Countries* is a book for children, the posthumous author of *Afterlife Poems* and *Polly Body Now*, with *The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets*, the Toronto poet adds yet another chapter to her popular canon of witty drolleries. The book's back-cover blurb points toward Lee's original audience, declaring that the poems are for "adults and teenage readers." But the appeal is to the sort of adult who enjoys reading Ogden Nash and creating *Flannery*—and *The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets* is a far cry from Lee in full flight.

The book is padded with some of Lee's best poems from earlier collections, including "When I Went Up to Roanoke" with its insights into Canada's conservatism ("A clause of little men/ Who took the word from history/ And made it worse again"). There are some fine new verses as well, particularly on childhood. *Swan See the Blue Balloon* is about a girl who loses her treasured balloon—and her sense of innocence—as the vast sky above. Writes Lee, "And things vanish inside her. Which they'd never told her off. But four years old is not too young/ For missing what you love." But Lee's most fetching quality is wistfully playful, the ability to juggle with the *flâneau* in *There Was A Man*, he writes, "There was a man who never was / This tragicomedy occurred because / His parents, being more too smart/ Were born two hundred years apart."

At times the jingling rhymes and rhythmic bounces are forced. And the attractiveness of several poems is shocking in a writer once renowned for master insights. Reading *The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets* is like watching Buffalo Bill shoot big game in a travelling road show: the bath and fitness only emphasize how far removed he is from the open range.

—JOHN REMBOSE

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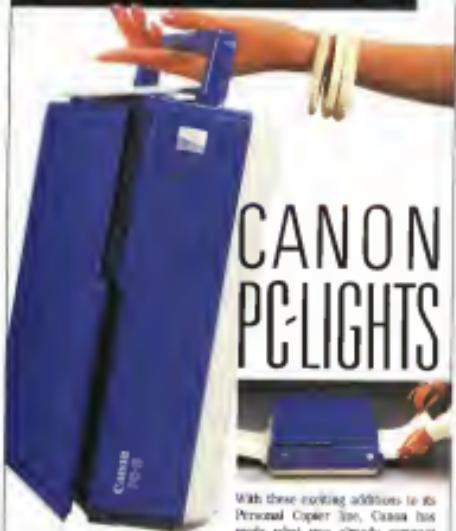
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Savage satire

A CANNIBAL IN MANHATTAN
By Tanya Juszkewitz
(Crown Publishers, 256 pages, \$12.95)

In her two previous works, *American Dad!* and *Shower of New York*, Tanya Juszkewitz established herself as a satirist with a taste for the absurd. The story lines were bizarre, but she had a gift for making her strange brand of satire utterly plausible. That was no small achievement. *American Dad!* is about a boy whose father kills his mother with a postage meter and then sexually maims himself with a chain saw. Now, Juszkewitz has produced a highly entertaining new novel, *A Cannibal in Manhattan*, that deflates urban North America's pretensions and exposes the semi-nudity.

The ferocity is familiar—the macabre version of an *Animal Farm*. In this case, the reader meets Mafata Mafata, executive chef of the Land of Pataca, as he stumbles through the tribal trials of a major city. Mafata is living a comfortable life with three wives on the island of New Barst Norton, contentedly amoring a half-satiric ensemble of bony wings and teeth, when Maia Pishkara, a bold Manhattan waitress, sees his poster in *National Geographic* and falls in love with him. Maia brings the savage to civilization—where Mafata re-changes the bamboo rod that persons have nose for a balloon pen and ultimately proves to be more civilized than the Manhattan elite to whom he is introduced.

At first cannibalism proves chic, as bands of cannibals, analists and reporters descend on Mafata. But soon he finds himself manipulated by the self-interest of everyone he meets. His swaying faunus makes his recipe for the hallucinogen—which brings both of them to the attention of a degenerate dwarf drug dealer and his thugs. After Mafata and Maia marry, the mobsters murder Maia and trick Mafata into eating her remains.

Juszkewitz's message—that civilized man is often more barbaric than his primitive counterparts—is not original, but it is flamboyantly and amazingly delivered. Its apparent weakness lies in the superlativity of the characters. But that, after all, may be precisely Juszkewitz's point.

—JANICE E. DAVIS



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Mayhem in the markets

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF 1938
By David Batra
(General Publishing, 222 pages, \$27.50)

Pople who feel threatened by the present turmoil in the world's financial markets should read David Batra's *The Great Depression of 1938*. Batra, a professor of economics at Southern Methodist University in Dallas and a respected international trade

expert, says that a 1930s-style depression is inevitable unless the United States implements fundamental economic reforms immediately. As a first step, he calls for the imposition of massive wealth taxes and a thorough overhauling of financial lending systems. In the long run, he proposes breaking up many large corporations, redistributing corporate ownership among employees and regulating incomes so that an individual

can earn more than 10 times the minimum wage. These breathtaking recommendations make Batra's book at once provocative, frightening and irritating.

Batra admits to having fallen under the spell of Indian scholar P.R. Sarkar and subscribes to Sarkar's idea that society evolves in a series of four social cycles that repeat themselves rhythmically and inevitably, century after century. Every third or sixth decade, Batra argues, the rate of inflation and the rate of growth of money supply peak. But now these events are enabling with the highest accumulation of wealth in the hands of the richest segment of U.S. society in 60 years. In the late 1980s, the top one per cent of individuals and corporations controlled 36 per cent of U.S. wealth; at the cycle's trough in 1949, they controlled 30.8 per cent. Now their share has swung back to almost 35 per cent. Batra says that situation is "extreme" because the concentration of wealth makes financial institutions unstable. The poorest must borrow to obtain food and shelter; meanwhile, the rich are caught in a speculative frenzy that undermines the base of their own wealth and the credit worthiness of those who finance them.

Many economists say that governments must have the tools—and the will—*to prevent depressions*. Batra disagrees. He argues that Washington's policies have forced successive U.S. presidents to embark on a spending spree financed by unsustainable debts. And he attacks the Reagan administration's tax reform and deregulation initiatives for concentrating more money in the hands of already-wealthy individuals and corporations.

An economic proposition, the book is formidable. But its prescriptions for personal protection in the coming depression—*to bank as a survivalist's handbook*—underline it. Batra's proposals, precisely detailing such matters as the conversion of assets from retirement savings plans to cash, spring from his faith in the predictive properties of Sarkar's theories. They leave the impression that *The Great Depression* is two books—one by a brilliant economist, the other by a mystic.

—TONI KREHANS

BLOOD IN THE STREETS
By James Dale Davidson and
Sir William Black-Meggs
(General Publishing, 302 pages, \$29.95)

James Dale Davidson and Sir William Black-Meggs are more optimistic than best-selling author David Batra. As the United States loses its dominance of world markets, they say, a crash is inevitable. But the authors of *Blood in the Streets*



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project the date for global financial collapse some time in the mid-1990s. And their book's message is set as apocalyptic as its title suggests. The authors are merely quoting Baron Nathan Rothschild, the 19th-century financier who once said that smart investors buy "when blood is running in the streets."

Taking his own advice, Rothschild made a great deal of money when the London stock market collapsed in 1929 during the battle of Waterloo between the bull market of the U.S. National Taxpayers Union, and Raes-Mogg, a former editor of the *London Times*, have been joint authors of *Strategic Investing*, a newsletter that predicts stamping out of paper, the fall of the dollar, low inflation and the long bull market in stocks and bonds. Their new book is a primer as what they call "megatrends," the global forces that move markets—and how to profit from them. Investors who keep a historical perspective of what major issues should, they claim, be able to make money.

-1408-1409

BLESSING THE LAMB
By David Cawie and Alison Griffiths
(Dawson & McInnes 2002, pp. 101-65)

The Vancouver Stock Exchange (VSE) and under the same name was of little selling that devastated stock markets around the world in October. But it is unlikely that the world's largest venture capital exchange will stay so longed for longer. As journalists David Cruise and Alan Griffiths point out in their fascinating new book, *Playing The London Game*, some of the world's most far-sighted capitalists and investors use the VSE to raise cash. Among them Beverly Cleary, who raised \$9 million by creating a mysterious tuning problem and sold arms dealer Adam Khan, whose earlier this year sought answers to put him in a search for King Solomon's legendary gold mine.

As the book's title suggests, it is usually investors who get hurt at the van. Attempts to reform the exchange, the authors claim, have accomplished little. Fully one half of the cash invested on the Vancouver exchange finds its way into the pockets of brokers, promoters and insiders. Yet investors keep coming back. The van has become part of world investment lore, a place like Las Vegas, where, blinded by dreams of winning big, speculators fail to recognize the better odds of losing.

— 10 —

It's one of the first gifts to get broken.



Dentistry and AIDS

At the first Ontario conference to discuss how dental care workers should deal with patients with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), held in Toronto last month, Theresa Dolko, a consultant at the AIDS Committee of Toronto, described the case of a man whom she could identify,

pending an Ontario Human Rights Commission inquiry, only as "27 J. He said, and, sadly, needed to have his teeth cleaned. But because he had AIDS, the staff at a Toronto hospital clinic did not use their electric equipment because of their concerns about contamination and insisted on cleaning his teeth with hand

instruments—a slow and painful process. Dolko added that they also refused to give J. a bowel lo opsonic, and it was only when he started to choke on his saliva that a staff member gave him a disposable gastric bag.

J's treatment underscored the concern shared by many dental care workers about the possible risk of infection through the intimate nature of their work, which involves close contact with a patient's saliva and blood. But Dr. Richard Danzig, the Toronto dentist who organized the meeting of 200 people, said that the apparent reticence behaviour on the part of some of his colleagues can also be attributed to strict guidelines that the Royal College of Dental Surgeons in Ontario suggested last year for the treatment of AIDS patients. Among the precautions that dentists should use, for example, is that gloves should be worn and needles should be sterilized before handling. Meeting these guidelines, said Danzig, is especially difficult for dentists whose offices are not set up to comply with such conditions. As a result, dentists frequently refer AIDS patients to hospital clinics, which are better equipped. The recommended practices, he added, "are so stringent, they make it impossible for dentists in private practice

For his part, Dr. Kenneth Povall, registrar at the college, said that a special committee is reviewing these guidelines—which he emphasized were only suggestions—and that the college will issue new recommendations within a month. Dentists can also anticipate more information on how to deal with AIDS patients from the Canadian Dental Association according to Brian Henderson, director of education and accreditation. The association will be issuing comprehensive guidelines following a conference planned for next March.

Meanwhile, at the Toronto conference, the AIDS Committee's Dolko asked a group of 20 dentists from across the country whether they would treat a person with AIDS. Dolko said that they would. As well, Dolko has estimated that 90 per cent of dentists in Toronto claim refuse to treat AIDS patients. Such reluctance, she maintains, has dangerous implications. "People are coming to start going underground with their infections, and then dentists really won't know what they're dealing with." And that, she added, leads to the most practical reason for dentists to accept patients who have AIDS: such time a dentist refuses to treat an AIDS patient, the patient has greater cause to hide the truth.

—MARY REINER with LINDA FRISS and
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ART

The gifted hands of a Prairie populist

At first glance the ceramic sculpture of Joe Fafard of Saskatchewan seems as accessible and straightforward as folk art. Fafard, after all, works mainly in clay, a humble, domestic material which historically tends to end up in refuse heaps rather than museums. Fafard's emblem is the equally humble domestic one. Over the years, in hundreds of variations—from prints to public sculptures—he has explored its awkward, angular volumes, fashioning an entire bovine world from fragile, bellowing calves to the dense, majestic bulk of a Hereford bull. That Joe Fafard is considerably more than a talented craftsman quickly becomes apparent in *Cows and Other Luminaries* (1977-87), judiciously organized by the Maudel Art Gallery in Saskatoon and the Dunlop Art Gallery in Regina.

Indeed, in this exhibition—which closes this week in Saskatoon and will run in Regina from Dec. 10 to Jan. 17—it is the "Other Luminaries" who shine. Moving beyond the reproductive shape of the cow, Fafard—45 and at midpoint in his career—has been working in an area that is far richer psychologically: the human form and face. The results is a body of work that constitutes a genuinely popular art, but which also achieves a difficult bal-



Goff (left), *Cows* (porcelain, 1980); *Dad Vincent* (1983) "ordinary souls"



© 1987, Maudel Art Gallery

ance. One large boar, *Vincent*, becomes witness to Fafard's preoccupation with the perspective trick of line-shunting. It shows a flattened van Gogh now dispair, his puffed features enclosed by the black line—remnant of childhood, a form of outlined animal drawing that van Gogh used to delineate forms. Most moving of all is *Dad Vincent* (1983), in which the artist is shown seated, his body encircling the highly charged surfaces and colors of van Gogh's own painting. As well as a palette he holds in his hand, a candle whose bright flame belies the look of profound isolation on the artist's face.

In the excellent accompanying catalogue prepared by curators Matthew Teitelbaum and Peter White, Fafard describes the van Gogh series as just "a kind of homage to this particular guy who was the originator of this marvelous work." But the series can also be seen as a statement of solidarity with an artist who, like Fafard, had a deep commitment to "ordinary souls." Fafard also seems to share van Gogh's conviction that a portrait is, as van Gogh once said, a "thing which is left, done with love or respect for the human being that is portrayed." That attitude is apparent in a series of fig-



Sometimes, however, Pafeld shows neither love nor respect for his subject. In 1988 he made several neoclassical sculptures at the Americas art critic Clement Greenberg. As the champion of American abstraction, Greenberg was the most influential critic of the 1950s, a man whose cultural drift did much to illuminate the art of his time. As Greenberg has become less influential, he has become increasingly dogmatic. The fact that the critic still holds dominion in parts of the Princeton where artists club together to bring him up for his critiques, may explain the cutting quality of Pafeld's portraits. The toughest, *Green* (1988), is a picture of decline. It shows Greenberg in an ill-fitting jacket, adopting a stance that mixes self-importance and dependency. His expression somehow combines exhaustion and disdain. "Green's influence in Saskatchewan," said Pafeld, "has been destructive of our creative spirit, because as doctors it has plateaued and peered over our own mortality."

There is a similar judgmental strain in Pafeld's *Gangnam* (1988), an artist who, among other achievements, spread typhus around the Ilden of the South Seas. Clad only in a purple jacket, his hands in mock prayer, Gangnam is a once-dared figure who negatively exposes his gentiles to public view. Such imagery, however, is rare for Pafeld. Normally, his affectionate portraits—whether of his neighbors or such imaginary criticks as Picasso, Matisse, and Cézanne—assume sympathetic perspectives, even though he respects his subjects in scale.

Curators Tatjana and White say that Pafeld's commitment to representivity is the bedrock of his art. Although he attended art schools in Winnipeg and Prince Albert, and was at the feet of the American minimalist sculptor Donald Judd, Pafeld has always maintained an independent, establishment-free. The artist is fondly eighty about a certain lack of revisionist artiness from the East. Unfortunately, the show is not scheduled to travel to that direction. Until it does, visitors will have to make do with Pafeld's seven bronze casts that reside on the grass of the Thessaloniki-Dominion Centre—a tyntly site, rustic junks on Cézanne's most ornate public space.

—GEOFFREY JAMES

OPERA

Going for baroque

It's the candlelight Art Gallery of Ontario's Walker Court, a select Teatro-risto audience last month awaited Cleopatra's entrance. They were watching the first fully staged Canadian production of George Frederick Handel's 1738 opera *Jahannes in Egypt*. At last, soprano June Leibell appeared, the queen of the Nile—in a powdered



Leibell as Cleopatra: controlled and stately passion.

wig, a froth of pink ostrich plumes and a long, slightly hooked bald pony. In 18th-century opera, noble bearing counts for a great deal, unbridled authority for continuity. This is a no-nonsense *Cleopatra* in the work of Toronto's Opera Atelier, the only professional ballet/operas company in Canada—and one of a handful in the world—to specialize in baroque performances. Paved for its first international appearance, later this month, the company is finding new audiences for an art form that has languished in obscurity for more than a century. On May 14, the company will present *Mass'Antrine: Charpentier's 17th-century French operas* with Montreal's Studio de Musique Américaine at that city's Espace-Université.

Church. The production will then travel to Manhattan's New York University and, in 1990, to the Sorbonne in Paris.

Opera Atelier director Marshall Pynkiss and choreographer Janettis Brigg have long been admirers of the controlled and stately passions of the baroque. Trained in classical ballet and modern dance, they moved to Paris to research the period in 1983. To subdue their studies, the couple worked at the famous Moulin Rouge nightspot, Pynkiss as a soloist and Brigg as a can-can dancer. Returning to Toronto a year later, they founded Opera Atelier.

To modern audiences, a baroque performance can seem alien and artificial. Although contemporary actors generally try to feel the emotions they express, baroque acting calls for a formal, cerebral approach. Said director Pynkiss: "In the 18th century an actor would elicit an emotional response from the audience through using the correct gesture and the right inflection of the voice." That approach places great importance on the text, which is why Atelier stages all productions in the language of its audience.

Baroque theatre's calculated quality promotes elements of uncontrolled amazement—and unexpected levity. When Handel's Cleopatra sees a growing woman and says, "Let us hide ourselves and learn the occasion of her sorrows," the heavy plot does evokes ribaldry: listen to when the matron looks and finds ducats, frozen in identical poses, look over their shoulders in unison—the slight, graceful movement draws merriment of delight. At such moments, baroque art seems to speak directly to the modern sensibility. Said Pynkiss: "When you get 200 years away from something, you can start to look at it again."

—PAMELA SHI-SHU



FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

SAMMY AND HORSE GET LAID
Directed by Stephen Frears

A giddy tour through a far house of sycophants and sycophants, *Sammy and Horse Get Laid* ranks as one of the most exhilarating—and unorthodox—comedies of the year. It focuses on the reunion in England of Rafi (Shabir Kapoor), a wealthy, middle-aged Indian, with his estranged son, Sammy (Aayush Khan Kapoor), and Sammy's son, Horace (Rishi Kapoor). Rafi, a former politician, has died, though his native land—only to find himself at the center of a London race riot. He intends to pass on his wealth to his son and daughter-in-law, but the ingénue Horace, learning that Rafi's political regime had tortured his opponents, spurns the offer—and the man.

Amid those tensions, all three characters march doggedly is the relentless march of their libido. Rafi slugs with Alice (Clare Bloom), the daughter of an opposite-faith that helped solo and Idris; Sammy dallies with Anna (Wendy Garside), a flighty American. Rose falls into the arms of Denny (Robert Gilt), an engageable black who loves beneath a frowny exterior. Only through sex do the characters cross the boundaries of class and culture—a theme, unconvincing. Hand Kapoor and director Stephen Frears also explored, in their 1988 movie, *My Beautiful Laundrette*. Once again, Kapoor and Frears skewer their most sympathetic characters. Sammy defends his father against Rose's self-righteous attacks, telling her, "We're

just soft, middle-class people who have everything and know nothing." Touched with the ambiguity of real life, Sammy and Rose leaves the audience giddily off-balance.

—PATRICIA BLICHT

DARK EYES
Directed by Nitin Mithaloo

There is a moment in *Dark Eyes* when the white-wifed heroine, a plain-looking nameless Roma (Bianca Bello), is pulled by the edge of an outdoor mud pool at a health spa. There she wades in to retrieve a woman's hair brush left off by the wind. He and the hair's Roma owner, the dark-eyed Anna (Elena Soffiano), are in love. And the hair scene is characteristic of *Dark Eyes*, which is at once absurdly funny and touching.

That is not surprising: director Nitin Mithaloo (*A Slave of Love*) and his screenwriters used for inspiration the harshest short stories of Anton Chekhov. Roma ultimately looks forth enough in herself to return Anna's love, and his tale is laced with regret. But *Dark Eyes* also brims with fanciful good humor. Roma, who loves of his rich wife, Elsa (Silvana Mangano), is such a charming balloon that he could sell a woman the Leaning Tower of Pisa. The film is visually exquisite, with splendid shots of turn-of-the-century women wearing white dresses and carrying parasols. Soprano Mithaloo lingers in his images too long—the play of light on a woman's bare back or the Russian

steps at dawn. Like its protagonist, *Dark Eyes* is exceedingly vain—but undeniably charming.

—LAWRENCE STIGLE

SUSPECT
Directed by Peter Yates

First, a U.S. Supreme Court justice carelessly names him, then, *Sam*, *Sam* finds the body of his murdered clerk in the Potowmack River. The Washington police quickly pounce on a suspect—Carl Wayne Anderson (Dennis Quaid), a homeless man who refuses to speak. Assigned to his case as a public defender, Kathleen Riley (Cheyenne Jackson) discovers that Anderson is a deaf-mute Vietnam veteran who has fallen on hard times. Despite the incriminating evidence, she is convinced of his innocence. With the help of her judge, Eddie Sanger (Dennis Quaid), a lobbyist who knows his way around town, she gathers information that points to a different murderer. But the creators of *Suspect* make his identity too easy to deduce. Destroying the element of suspense, director Peter Yates (*The Dresers*) and screenwriter Eric Hane have a thriller affected with asthma.

Fortunately, Riley and Sanger become romantically involved, but their liaison fails to save a life in the process. *Sam* ends herself of two experiments—fright and stunned surprise. Apart from raising the nightmarish prospect of being arrested in court by *Sam*, *Suspect* leaves the viewer wishing for an adjustment.

—P. W.

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Swallows, Shorthorn* (B)
- 2 *Personal Innocent*, Turtur (C)
- 3 *Sherry*, King (C)
- 4 *Antique Games*, Cheung (C)
- 5 *Concord, Concord* (C)
- 6 *Katrina*, Gifford (C)
- 7 *Bones and Bells*, John
- 8 *Hot Money*, Freeland (B)
- 9 *Lower, McPherson* (B)
- 10 *Bags*, Smith (C)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Spaniards*, Wright (C)
- 2 *Hick Hopkin*, Hill in Motion, Taylor (C)
- 3 *Time Flies*, Costa (C)
- 4 *Starving 60s: 1959-1961*, Berlin (C)
- 5 *Coronation, Greenup and Jones* (C)
- 6 *Wise Men*, Gifford (C)
- 7 *The Discovery of the Tropics*, Goldfarb (C)
- 8 *Trotik: The Legend*, Trotik (C)
- 9 *Capers of the Wilderness*, Newman (C)
- 10 *Friends in High Places*, Hoy (C)

1/ Positive best seller

—Compiled by Sandra McGregor

One man's brave but futile dream

By Allan Fotheringham

There can be nothing more desperate of the strange country called Canada than the fact that a state funeral was awarded to the man who tried to level it asunder. This was not a national hero being buried, not a John Kennedy who died too young nor a Churchill who slumped too long. Both loved their country passionately. René Lévesque loved his province and its people so much that he was prepared to Jefferson the whole country—which surely they would have fallen from the map of the United States he admired and idealized. His was a heroic dream, but futile and failed, and he never really recovered from giving up the brightight. Retirement is not good for those with large egos.

Le Monde of Paris said some years ago that only in Canada could a man that intelligent not be prime minister. He ramshackle manner and his obstreperous outbursts—some rude, others outrageous—camouflaged for English Canada his real intelligence. Could have argued better despite Pierre Trudeau as Lévesque did in his memoirs: "He was extremely cultivated, certainly, but almost exclusively only in matters of jurisprudence and politics. I had the impression that, except for some additional baggage he had accumulated from studies of the humanities left him apparently indifferent, like a file folder on rock."

Like seed falling on rock. The perfect, deadly assessment of the dry asperity of the Trudeau personality—the very opposite of the vulnerable, bivisible Lévesque who was no human. He was very intelligent, too, but he never used it as a bulldog weapon. I was talking just days before Lévesque's death with a premier who said that in the closed federal-provincial conferences Lévesque would openly laugh at Trudeau—as the others gaped.

Two book reviewers ago (that is the way some of us count the years), we were involved in a hilarious breakfast shooting match at the Canadian booksellers' annual convention, along with

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Shaw News*.



several booksellers who saw the book. "Because they liked his personality," she reported. He encouraged everyone to write in—when, as a postscript, not libellous (as writer Jean Charest).

You could see proof of this later as we crossed parks on the dreaded book-tug tour. A meeting of Lévesque in Winnipeg and receptions were held east with his hosts. They lined up for blocks in Calgary for an autograph from the man who wanted to save the country in half. In fact, western Canadians recognized as essential and major sources who voted Ottawa and the Central Canada mad.

He got a dose of it early. The town

where he grew up, New Carlisle, on the undercarriage of the Gaspé Peninsula, was Anglo as the mitten—solidates, in fact, in distance to Halifax than it was to far-off, cosmopolitan Montreal, where the rich Trudeau and Laurendeau and Pélletier and Marchand were establishing their intellectual way.

Lévesque was so turned off by Anglo

dominance that when the law school dream that his dead lawyer-father had wanted for him proved too boring, he joined the American Seacoats as a crew member rather than hitch his star to a Canadian army that reported to an English king (Lévesque is not alone in being left, fatherless, while young, so were Trudeau and John Turner. So were Churchill and a few others.)

The man thought of as a narrow nationalist had a very good war in London with Crombie and Edward R. Morrow, crossing the Rhine with Patton, being one of the first into the Dachau death camp, arriving in Milan just after Mussolini was stirring up by the heels.

It was Trudeau's international wanderings as a world adventurer that convinced him of the dangers of nationalism, Quebec's included. Although as widely travelled as Trudeau, Lévesque had his conversion in a national experience—his discovery of Anglo Ottawa's indifference and arrogance over a Radican strike turning him from an objective journalist into a passionate partisan.

Cloudy days, while still editor of *Le Droit*, one day said that Lévesque—a man he opposed actually knew and understood all of Canada better than Trudeau. Undoubtedly true, because Trudeau, even outside the Montreal-Ottawa axis, was lost, with neither comprehension nor sympathy. He had respect across the nation, sometimes precious, but never the real emotion shown Lévesque at those improbable book gatherings.

Like most journalists, he hated doctors and hospitals, and we have now learned that he regarded Ms and carelessly. He was treated, in his pain, by politicians eager for applause almost ludicrously as somehow a Father of Confederation. But his beliefs caused not, in a way, to be a Knay Giss that bound us together.

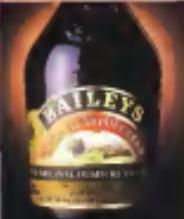
He wrote his own best epitaph in his memoirs: "But at least they deserved love me—to the very end, in my case—the sum total of my democratic." Wherever he has gone, mark it as a good that there is a 65-year smoking session.



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